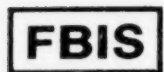


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26 May 1982

# Sub-Saharan Africa Report

No. 2629



FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

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26 May 1982

## SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA REPORT

No. 2629

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## INTER-AFRICAN AFFAIRS

### SIERRA LEONE PRESIDENT RECEIVES KENYA'S OUKO, OTHERS

AB111150 Freetown Domestic Service in English 0700 GMT 11 May 82

[Text] The president, Dr Siaka Stevens, yesterday received at State House Kenya's minister of foreign affairs, Dr Robert Ouko, who is here as special envoy of Kenya's president and current chairman of the OAU, Dr Daniel Arap Moi. Dr Ouko delivered brotherly greetings from President Moi and a special message which, among other things, sought the views of President Stevens on the new Kenyan proposals in the solving of the problem of Western Sahara. Dr Ouko visited recently other African leader statesmen on the issue with a view to making progress toward the Western Sahara problem. President Stevens said that positive response was (?given) to the proposals. Dr Ouko was presented to the president by Foreign Minister Dr Abdulai Conteh.

President Stevens, who is also the current chairman of the ECOWAS, was yesterday formally invited to the next summit of the organization which takes place in Cotonou, Benin, at the end of this month. Benin's trade and industry minister, Ayayi Manasse, extended the invitation to Dr Stevens with the (?friendship) and a personal message from Benin's president, Mathieu Kerekou. Mr Manasse, who is here as a special envoy, also underscored Sierra Leone's international image under President Stevens' leadership and pointed out the mutual maximum cooperation among ECOWAS member states.

Accepting the invitation, President Stevens remarked that African leaders must always try to close their ranks for the advancement of the African continent. At the meeting was the foreign minister, Dr Abdulai Conteh; his permanent secretary, Mr Charles (Wise); and the director of external trade in Benin, Mr (Devidi Aldetto).

CSO: 4700/1216



## INTER-AFRICAN AFFAIRS

### ECOWAS OFFICIAL SEES SUMMIT AS TURNING POINT

AB110641 Paris AFP in English 0409 GMT 11 May 82

[Text] Cotonou, 11 May (AFP)--The next summit of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) being held here in Benin's capital at the end of this month should mark a decisive turning-point in the 16 member regional grouping's development, its executive secretary Boubakar Ouattara said here Monday.

He hoped the May 27-28 conference, the seventh of its kind, would see thought given to how to enable ECOWAS to achieve lift-off.

One of its big problems was inertia in member states regarding the implementation of supposedly joint decisions, Mr Ouattara told a press conference. That was due to the period of adaptation the organisation was experiencing and to an absence of circulation of relevant information in member countries, he said.

But Mr Ouattara thought that the diversity of socio-political regimes among ECOWAS members gave it strength and richness--"ECOWAS had no adversaries, we are our own adversaries," he commented.

One of the body's guidelines had to be the need to adapt its general programme in a long-term perspective so as to give members a chance to achieve together what they were unable to manage alone, Mr Ouattara said.

ECOWAS represented 45 per cent of the population of black Africa, and its future lay in mobilising all the energies of its component societies to ensure them a place in the science and technology of the beginning of the 21st century, the executive secretary urged.

CSO: 4700/1216



INCREASED SALES OF FRENCH ARMS TO AFRICA REPORTED

Paris LE MONDE in French 12 Mar 82 p 38

[Text] In 1981, exports of French arms to foreign countries totaled 33.8 billion francs, a figure which in terms of the present value of the franc represents a 10-percent decline from the previous year. This is what Charles Hernu told the members of the National Assembly's Defense Commission on the morning of Thursday 11 March. It was the first time that a minister of defense had given members of the parliament official, albeit provisional, statistics on French arms sales abroad.

In November 1981, during the parliamentary vote on the 1982 defense budget, Charles Hernu announced that he would regularly give the chairman, recorder, and members of the Defense Commission the total figures on France's arms contracts with foreign customers and the destination of these military supplies.

In 1981, exports to the Maghreb and Middle Eastern countries totaled 24.2 billion francs, or 71.6 percent of France's total military exports. The countries of the Far East received 1.7 billion francs worth of French arms (for 5 percent of the total); Western Europe and North America placed orders for 3.2 billion francs; Latin America for 2.5 billion francs; black Africa for 1.8 billion francs; and Eastern Europe (and various countries) for 0.4 billion francs.

It must be noted that the percentage of exports to black Africa registers a significant increase, climbing from 1.6 percent in 1980 to 5.3 percent of the total exports in 1981.

Mr. Hernu recalled on this occasion that since his appointment as minister of defense, he has tried to reorient the policy regarding French arms sales abroad so as to bring it into line with France's foreign policy--more particularly in the matter of industrial and technical assistance to the Third World countries, which will thus benefit from a transfer of technology and from France's industrial know-how.

8796

CSO: 4719/788

## HOPES RISE FOR RELEASE OF FOREIGN PRISONERS

London WEST AFRICA in English No 3378, 3 May 82 pp 1224-1225

## [Excerpt]

An Angolan promise to free its three remaining Portuguese political prisoners has raised the hopes of Western diplomats in Luanda that other Westerners held in Angolan jails, including nine mercenaries, might also be freed, writes *Richard Wallis of Reuters*.

The mercenaries — two Americans, six Britons and an Irishman — were sentenced to long prison terms in 1976 for fighting with one of the two losing movements in the three-sided civil war which erupted in Angola after Portugal decided to grant independence to the biggest of its former African colonies.

Angolan authorities are also holding a US pilot who was arrested last year.

This would not be the first time that Angola has freed Portuguese political prisoners, but those released in the past were Leftists. The three who have been promised release include a lieutenant-colonel in the Portuguese army.

"It would be very difficult for the Angolans to justify any discrimination against the other nationalities," a Western diplomat said when asked whether the freeing of the Portuguese could affect the fate of the others.

The issue of the two American mercenaries and the US pilot has figured in delicate negotiations on the establishment of diplomatic relations between Washington and Luanda.

Angolan television, which, like the rest of the media, is under

tight state control, let slip recently the phrase "the future diplomatic relations between the United States of America and the People's Republic of Angola" in its main news bulletin.

Angolan officials were quick to point out the significance of the phrase, to which no qualifications were attached.

If talks which the Angolan Foreign Minister, Sr. Paulo Jorde, and the US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Mr. Chester Crocker, have been holding in Paris this year lead to US recognition of the Luanda administration, it is likely that Angola would release the three Americans as a goodwill gesture.

If that were to happen, Britain and Ireland would be certain to press for the release of the seven remaining mercenaries, the diplomatic sources said.

Western press reports earlier this year said the Americans would be exchanged for two Soviet airmen held by the main Angolan guerrilla movement, The National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA).

The UNITA leader, Sr. Jonas Savimbi, said in a recent Portuguese state television interview that he would release the Soviet airmen, whose plane was shot down by his guerrillas, only if an International Red Cross plane took off from Luanda to fetch them and landed in UNITA-controlled territory.

This would amount to the Luanda government admitting the division of the country and it seems politically an impossible condition to fulfil. Western diplomats said that in any case the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) had not been asked to arrange such an exchange.

CSO: 4700/1201

PERSONAL CONFLICT BETWEEN GOUKOUNI, HABRE RUINS NATION

Brussels LE SOIR in French 22-24 Mar 82

[Series of articles by Colette Braeckman]

[22 Mar 82 p 5 Part I]

["Hissein Habre's Partisans Scour the Black Market for Gasoline"]

[Excerpts] El Geneina, Sudan--Today, ER Geneina [a city in western Sudan near the Chadian frontier] has fallen back into its customary torpor. Water is delivered by donkeys loaded with leather waterskins, and only those who have a generator have electricity.

Clearly, however, the generator operates on gasoline. And gasoline, which is almost impossible to find, costs 600 Sudanese pounds (2,400 Belgian francs) per barrel. So people light their homes with storm lanterns and with candles, and radio communications, the only contact between the city and the capital, are brief and often impossible to understand.

No doubt that is why General Bachir and Colonel Jellal (one of them fat, the other one thin, but both of them equally debonair), who guard this strategic frontier, are philosophers.

They know the limits of their power and laugh heartily when you ask them if they are able to close the frontier to the supporters of Hissein Habre, who come to obtain provisions in El Geneina.

Mamoun, the chief of the Sudanese security service, is more careful. Keeping a nomad waiting who is trying to sell him an ostrich egg decorated with complicated Arabesque designs, he measures out before a map the extent of his powerlessness: he must watch over 250 km of border!

His watching brief should extend to the Libyan border, but his vehicles are almost completely paralyzed.

That is why the Sudanese Army now resembles the Canadian Mounted Police. And his reconnaissance expeditions are limited to a few trips toward the Chadian frontier.

Everyone here knows Hissein Habre personally. When he arrived in Quibres, on the border, after having been expelled from Ndjama by the Libyans in December 1980, they housed him, fed him, and welcomed him like a brother. And today his successes do not astonish them. They know the determination of the Northern Armed Forces [FAN] and close their eyes when these soldiers scour the black market trying to obtain gasoline.

#### Perplexity of Colonel Issam

Colonel Issam is officially the counselor of the Sudanese Army, and each day he tries to establish radio contact with Cairo and with Hissein Habre. At times he succeeds in establishing contact and at other times not. The other day, just before the cease-fire, he gave us a personal message for the leader of the FAN: What did he need in order to take Ndjama? A question which angered Hissein Habre: "He knows perfectly well what I need; it is gasoline. And he also knows that he has nothing to give me but useless advice."

Poor Colonel Issam! When we saw him again, his vehicle was out of action, and he was negotiating the purchase of a horse belonging to the Red Cross team.

#### "Belgian Rifle"

When we tried to reach Chad from El Geneina, we learned the virtues of the "IBM System": "Insha'allah" (God willing), "Bukra" (Tomorrow), "Ma'alaysh" (Too bad). The first day, we had permission to leave but there was no vehicle available--and no gasoline. The second day, we found a place in a truck which seemed to have gasoline, but the necessary permission had disappeared. Chadian trucks are not permitted to cross the frontier, and all supplies (barrels of gasoline, food, equipment) are carried on camelback from El Geneina to Adre, the first Chadian town, 40 km away. The third day, Hassan and Baal, two soldiers who had traveled from Khartoum, found a small Peugeot "pickup" truck ready to make the trip. Finally, on the fourth day, everything was ready: truck, gasoline, and permission. Everything was in order, except the truck, which was loaded with 2 tons of various kinds of food and 15 passengers crowded together on sacks of millet and the baggage. Thus was a vehicle which broke down every 20 minutes, which had to be pulled, pushed, taken apart, and repaired at each sand dune, at every pothole in the road. Not to mention the detours across the grassy plains when it was necessary to avoid the landmines which had been buried under the road by the Libyan Army and which had killed a number of cattle whose carcasses were drying in the sun.

Fortunately, once past the frontier, and having gone through the numerous Sudanese control points, the atmosphere changed. The vehicle stopped once again. The driver and his mechanics were burrowing in the motor. However, the passengers were changing their clothes in the bushes. The jeans, the cloaks [djellabas], the white tunics were replaced by turbans and camouflage uniforms. We squeezed together a little more to make room for the Kalachnikov [AK-47's] and the "Belgian rifles"--considered the best assault weapon, provided it was cleaned meticulously.

And when we reached Adre, night had long since fallen. In the distance we could hear the laughter of the women who carry water in large earthen jars, and everyone assembled around the "ball," a large lump of millet dough which you knead with your right hand and then dip into a torrid sauce.

[23 Mar 82 p 5 Part II]

["The Libyans Have Left Behind Some Very Bad Memories"]

[Excerpts] Abeche is no more than 180 km away, but it took us a whole day to reach the second largest city in Chad, passing along the road the wrecks of tanks and jeeps abandoned by the Libyan Army.

Here, as in the vicinity of Gulbus, on the frontier, and as at the cemetery, where the Libyans buried about 30 officers just outside Abeche, you realize that the hasty departure of Qadhdhafi's troops was due not only to the injunctions of the OAU or to international pressure. The Libyan Army was thoroughly defeated by the FAN. Even before the order to evacuate Chad was given, the Libyan troops had been pushed back into the towns by the troops of Hissein Habre and had suffered heavy losses in men and equipment.

#### The Pistachio Green of the Libyans

However, Abeche, a beautiful desert city, gold and rose-colored in the setting sun, is still marked by the passage of the Libyans through it. The minaret of the principal mosque was painted green, and all public buildings, the banks (long closed), the post office, the courthouse, were daubed with the same pistachio green, as was the bandstand, where once, no doubt, the French Army used to play "Aupres de ma blonde."

And on all the walls the Libyans had posted their credo of long quotations from the little green book of Qadhdhafi, which proclaim in particular "the indivisible unity of Chad and of Libya" and "the future superiority of the black race over all others." The Chadians, who don't laugh at this, consider such professions of faith to be at the very limits of racism.

In the rooms of the subprefecture office, the Libyans had left an enormous video tape recorder and a pile of cassettes. In the evening, when the generator is functioning, the FAN troops again and again look at the pictures of an extraordinary meeting held by the Libyans in the principal square. You see there an impassive crowd, held in order by the machineguns of the soldiers of Ahmat Acyl (now minister of foreign affairs of the GUNT [Transitional National Union Government]), the ally of the Libyans), while a colonel who bears an astonishing resemblance to Qadhdhafi makes an interminable speech celebrating, it seems, the indissoluble union of the two countries.

However, the Libyans left more bitter memories of their stay: the lycee was closed, the teaching of French was prohibited and Arabic was promoted, Islamic justice eliminated modern laws, and above all many civilians were executed, including the prefect of the city who, it is said, had been imprudent enough to



intercede in favor of certain prisoners. Residents of Abeche told us that when they left, some of the Libyans took with them some women who they considered pretty.

Hissein Habre has installed himself in the subprefecture office, a white building which, with its two stories, dominates Abeche. Almost invisible, he leads a spartan existence there, guarded on the ground floor by young soldiers armed to the teeth.

From the "general staff" offices in a large, smelly building where we preferred to sleep on the terrace, the advisers and the military leaders go to and from the "Presidency"; vehicles overloaded with soldiers who have adopted the driving speed of their leader leave from there for the front. The soldiers wear helmets with the visors resting on their "Afro" haircuts, sunglasses, cartridge belts around their waist, and a knife bound around their biceps. Other soldiers have kept the traditional uniform of the warriors of the North: narrow pants, long tunic, and turban; but they look no less fierce.

However, despite the omnipresent weapons (the soldiers keep them close by, even when sleeping), Abeche is remarkably calm. You hear practically no gunshots, and when there is an explosion, a patrol quickly moves out to punish those who dare to waste ammunition.

#### Radio France and Prayer

At the general staff offices, the day begins with morning prayer at sunrise, immediately followed by the first broadcast from the international service of Radio France, which is listened to with deep interest and sharply commented on. The FAN troops accuse the "voice of France" of presenting a truncated version of events and of conferring on Goukouni Oueddei more authority than he really has.

An astonishing personality presides over the "general staff": Jean d'Abezac. A tall, blond man with blue eyes, he could be mistaken for a German mercenary. However, cloaked in his white djellaba, he prays conscientiously five times a day, with his forehead in the dust. His father, we are told, was a French officer from the Dordogne; his mother was a Toubou nomad. And he considers himself fully a Chadian, adviser to Hissein Habre and occasional negotiator. Somewhat of a boaster, as some French from the Midi can be, he brags of having been sent to France to meet Jean-Pierre Cot, minister delegate for cooperation. The interview went off badly, he says; he treated Cot as a "leftist," and Cot called him a "reactionary." To this he retorted: "Yes, I am a reactionary, and proud of it."

If Hissein Habre wishes to place himself beyond East-West differences (even though he derives some benefit as the number one opponent of the Libyans), his entourage does not hide its "pro-Western" sympathies. However, this is a particularly gratuitous sympathy, for if Saudi Arabia seems to support the FAN, American encouragement is purely moral. "If Washington helped us, at least we would have Land Rovers and gasoline," the soldiers say.

Paradoxically, through their education the FAN leaders are culturally very close close to France, no doubt more so than their adversaries. However, they bear a tenacious hatred toward Paris, an old hatred which finds new motives for its existence each day.

[24 Mar 82 p 5 Part III]

["A Country Ruined by Two Men's Struggle to the Death"]

[Text] A few days ago, Abeche shook with unaccustomed activity. Less sparing with gasoline than usual, the soldiers came and went aboard brandnew armored cars, displayed artillery and heavy weapons, and left on the road to Sudan, while tank trucks still bore the label, "Integrated National Army." Through the dust you could see one or two white men in the more sophisticated vehicles. They waved to us as they went by, but very discreetly. At the same time, wounded began to flow into the hospital, hands shot off, wounded in the lungs, and with less serious wounds. The most seriously wounded could not be moved from Oum Hadjer.

It was there, in this little subprefectural town located 140 km from Abeche, that the FAN won an important victory, after having suffered the beginnings of a defeat. For several weeks the FAN had occupied the city in as casual a manner as at Abeche and had relaxed their vigilance, in the belief that the government forces would attack elsewhere. One Sunday morning, moving in almost unnoticed, the soldiers of President Goukouni entered the outskirts of the city, near the hospital.

According to those who escaped, there soon was carnage. The wounded were shot in their beds, and a Chadian nurse had her throat cut. The following night, having mobilized all their units stationed in Abeche, the FAN decided to move in. They retook the city at dawn, encircling the government troops who came mainly from the South--men of Vice President Kamougue. There were heavy losses for the forces of the government coalition: nearly 400 killed; 310 prisoners whom the FAN forces released very quickly, since they were too heavy a burden to take care of; and abundant amounts of equipment that had just been delivered by France and Algeria captured in excellent condition. The FAN even obtained some cash: the Goukouni troops had just been paid, and the FAN troops found good money in the pockets of their new uniforms (Hissein Habre's troops are volunteers and are not paid).

After the battle of Oum Hadjer, the hospital in Abeche was filled with wounded, with prisoners and FAN soldiers being treated equally. This is a beautiful hospital constructed by the French, well equipped, with an operating room, x-ray equipment, etc. However, today it has no water (a donkey brings two containers of water, and that's all). Two nurses from the [charitable French] organization "Doctors Without Frontiers," Annick and Brigitte, have total responsibility for the patients. The reinforcement promised by the Doctors Without Frontiers organization are awaited with impatience, since Annick and Brigitte, who for months have dealt only with the most urgent cases, are overwhelmed by the flow of wounded.



The city of Abeche is in the image of this hospital. With ridiculously limited resources and underqualified personnel full of good will, the FAN is trying to make the public services operate. The hospital more or less functions, but everything is lacking. The courts have been reopened, and certain members of the FAN who have juridical knowledge are trying to reintroduce modern law alongside Islamic justice. The lycee was reopened after the city was recaptured. The 500 students, who for 3 years had vegetated in the same class, have again begun to take courses in French, English, and mathematics.

Many of the teachers, who have not been paid for years, have gone to the countryside with their families. Others have come back and are working out of the goodness of their hearts. Among the FAN troops, those who have special qualifications (former ministers, former diplomats) have become teachers of English, geography, and French for 4 hours per day. On the blackboard at the school you see written out, "Chad is the crisis point of Africa." Mokhtar Mustapha, the general supervisor of the lycee, explains that the students must make up for lost time, and that the first concern of the FAN, despite the lack of equipment and qualified personnel, was to reopen the lycees and the elementary schools in the city.

#### Wornout Efforts

Despite their military power, their capacity for organization, and the numerous officials who have rejoined them, the FAN remains isolated politically and diplomatically. Hissein Habre is considered a rebel, although he clearly has the substance (and the qualifications) of a statesman. And meanwhile, his troops are trying to normalize the situation in the regions which they occupy, to make the cities function, to reorganize commercial distribution networks, to make public transportation function. The FAN, whose discipline is very tight, is visibly trying to win the support of the civilian population, which is tired of the war and of the successive occupations when the various Chadian factions behaved like "warlords" and lived off the country.

However, the people of Abeche follow the evolution of the political and military situation with relative indifference. "Only one thing interests me, and that is for the war to come to an end," a teacher explains. And one student, on the verge of tears, recalls that "200 members of my family have died on one side or the other."

"I'm fed up with it, I'm fed up with it," he ceaselessly repeats, emphasizing: "If France wanted to do so, it could put an end to this war in 48 hours. Instead of that, it continues to provide arms and munitions."

#### Why War?

After several days living alongside the FAN troops, as was the case during the first hour of our visit, a single question remains. Why does this war go on--this fratricidal struggle which divides families, decimates the people, ruins the country, and threatens to cross Chad off the map? As for the Libyans, whose presence explained the struggle undertaken by Hissein Habre--haven't

they left? Why is reconciliation impossible when the FAN have in their ranks many people whom the country needs so much?

In fact (and at the end of the conversations we had, this wish seemed evident) the FAN wants negotiations. After having been driven out of Ndjamea by the Libyan Army in December 1980 and having gone into the countryside in the East, they want to reenter their capital with their heads high and to participate in the government.

Aware of his military strength and of the unfailing dominance which he exercises over his men (beyond any ideology or any political belief), Hissein Habre supports the resolution adopted by the Permanent Committee of the OAU on 11 February 1982, which provides for the beginning of negotiations between the GUNT and the FAN by 15 March, the holding of legislative and presidential elections between 1 May and 30 June, and the withdrawal of the Inter-African Force by 30 June.

"If we made war, it was in order to end up with negotiations," says Hissein Habre, "and to free our country once and for all from all foreign interference--the Libyans yesterday, the French and Algerians today."

However, despite his conciliatory tone, it is clear that Hissein Habre will not be satisfied with a folding chair or even with a seat in the government. Between him and Goukouni Wedeye there is an implacable struggle for power which has begun and which can end only with the total disappearance of one of the two adversaries.

The gap between the two men cannot be bridged. Everything which once united them now separates them. Both of them were born in the North and were founders of the Northern Armed Forces, of which Hissein Habre was president and Goukouni, the son of Derdei, the spiritual leader of the Toubou tribe, was vice president. They fought together against the Southern-dominated government of President Tombalbaye, of General Malloum, against the French Army. They were both responsible for the famous Claustre affair [the kidnapping of a French nurse].

The evenings are long in Abeche, and as the hours pass by, tongues wag freely. Thus we were told that it was Goukouni, then vice president of the FAN, who had decided to execute the French representative Galopin, who in fact was the agent of Tombalbaye, and whom the Toubou tribe would not pardon for having tried to divide them.

However, one learns above all (and perhaps this is one of the reasons for such tenacious hatred on the part of former comrades in arms) that the colossal ransom paid by France to obtain the release of Françoise Claustre (13 billion CFA francs, or 250 million French francs) was reportedly taken entirely by Goukouni. Hissein Habre kept only a few weapons and a bad reputation from this affair.

Complex intrigues in which France, Libya, various secret services, and the many Chadian factions were involved form the warp and woof of the personal

conflict between Goukouni Wedeye and Hissein Habre--this struggle between leaders which is ruining Chad.--

At El Geneina, the Egyptian colonel, who does not have many resources but has immense good will, clearly summarized the position of those who support Hissein Habre: "He is against the Libyans, and he is the most intelligent. It is he who should be the leader."

5170

CSO: 4719/799

## 'LE FIGARO' VIEWS 'DELICATE' CHAD SITUATION

PM100813 Paris LE FIGARO in French 6 May 82 p 3

[Y.B. report: "Chad: Hissein Habre Resumes Offensive"]

[Text] In Chad everything is learned indirectly and by word of mouth. Thus yesterday it was learned with some certainty that last week the "Northern Armed Forces," [FAN], as Hissein Habre's group is still called, took Salal, an important location 470 km north of N'djamena.

So FAN has resumed the offensive after 4 weeks of calm. It seems that the fighting at Salal was very violent and that troops of President Goukouni's "People's Armed Forces" suffered "substantial losses." The vise is closing inexorably on N'djamena and, still according to rumors, the Chadian Government now holds only a belt of land around the capital and a strip of land near Ati, from whence the Niger blue helmets departed a few days ago.

Meanwhile the N'djamena population lives in fear of another civil war due to the deterioration in the political climate and the splits within the government. For the past month a "neither war nor peace" atmosphere has prevailed and the civilian population's anxiety has spread. Several high-ranking officials of humanitarian organizations are, at their own request, being protected in their travels by troops of the African peace-keeping force. Some diplomats have sought the same kind of protection. Supervision of the military police is out of the authorities' hands, and the French manager of an oil company suffered bullet wounds in the corridor of a police station in N'djamena where he had been summoned from his home.

Last, though the high commissioner for refugees sees to the daily feeding of 200,000 people, beggars have made their appearance after over 2 years' absence. N'djamena has become a dirty city despite the commissioner's allocation of 50 million African financial units for improving the capital.

The government is being hampered by "profound divergences" in its formation of a new government, 8 days after the official announcement of a ministerial reshuffle.

Colonel Kamougue apparently refused to accept head of state Goukouni Weddeye's "fait accompli." Monday evening, on his return from a month's stay in the south, it seems he categorically opposed the appointment of the proposed prime minister (apparently former President Maloum).

The Council of State, which will comprise political and military leaders, and the government, which will be composed of high-ranking officials, will have well-defined roles. The former will be responsible for the political aspect of the conduct of affairs and the latter for "government." But the situation is very delicate.

CSO: 4719/933

## CONDITIONS IN EASTERN PART OF COUNTRY NOTED

Ndjamena INFO TCHAD in French 22 Mar 82 pp 1, 2

[Article: "Goukouni Oueddei Fights as a Combattant Among Many Others"]

[Text] It will soon be a month since President Goukouni Oueddei went to the front. The presence in the east of the Chadian head of state is proof that the struggle going on in Batha is a very decisive one for Chad's future. There is a rather special climate holding sway in Ati where our reporter, Matha Ben Matha, saw the number one Chadian once again become a fighting soldier among so many others.

"Battle dress," turbaned head, kalashnikov slung across his shoulder. Goukouni Oueddei, the head of state, has rediscovered the limitations and constraints of the "bush," so forgetting the rosy life of the capital. He has been at the front lines nearly a month (and is there still). Ati, Mongo, Salal, Goss. Then an endless sojourn at the garrison town of Ati, which has become home base for the units which have withdrawn from geographical Quaddai, as well as for those which have left other military zones; their goal is the eradication of the rebellion and of the Zairian and Nigerian detachments of the Pan-African Force.

It is this overarmed universe, where the combattants unlinger their heavy weapons to strut about, that the president of the Transitional National Union Government has chosen as a field of application for the military solution theory. Evidently, there is nothing to prevent the crushing of the Northern Armed Forces (FAN). There is an impressive war arsenal and thousands of men capable of saving Chad. But victory is slow in coming, and with just reason. President Toukouni provided us the answer during a meeting with the combattants at Batoualfil (35 km from Ati): "The political group spirit is annihilating our efforts and hindering our actions in the field." So what can be done? The head of state is working for the "detrendization" of the army....

At each stage of his tour, Mr Goukouni Oueddei received notables, civil servants, offers of the Pan-African Force, etc.... To all his questioners, the president of GUNT explained the deep-seated reasons why he refuses to negotiate with Hissein Habre. Everyone understood him, except perhaps those who have contacts in the rebellion. And God alone knows there are many of them within the ranks of government. But still a lull reigns on the front



which is likely to engender demobilization, especially as our combat soldiers have no "flair for leadership."

Besides the military concerns, lethargy has taken hold upon the regions we visited: almost non-existent government, medical centers suffering from lack of medicines, schools opening their doors only at the whim of the teachers. In the area of schooling, the development of the teaching of Arabic is to be noted. Mongo gives proof of this. And to all this, famine has pitilessly added its woe. Green Ati (where the Libyans have left their mark) has seen its population grow; refugees who have come from surrounding areas must deal with problems of lodging and hunger. Before the end of war, the eastern part of Chad is dying inch by inch. (A.T.P.)

9927

CSO: 4719/811



SUGAR PLANT'S REOPENING

Ndjamena INFO TCHAD in French 22 Mar 82 pp 2,3

[Article: "Official Reopening of the Farcha SONASUT Plants"]

[Text] The activities of the SONASUT [National Sugar Company of Chad] plants in Farcha resumed two weeks ago. A cocktail party given by the authorities of the sugar corporation officially marked the reopening. SONASUT's Chairman of the Board, Mr Ahmed Ngakoutou Valentin, took this occasion to present a brief overview of the corporation.

The three years of war and instability that Chad has known have caused SONASUT considerable delays as regards their forecasts. According to Mr Ngakoutou, SONASUT had a 46,000-ton delay as compared to its initial program and an 11,000-ton loss as compared to its 1979 program. But the corporation still intends to continue its operations and consolidate its foundations. A five year plan will thus be submitted to the bakers so as to obtain new aid, allowing the complete and permanent restructuring of the corporation's financial situation. The new operations director of the Farcha plants is Mr Idriss Koura. (A.T.P.)

9927

CSO: 4719/811

## BRIEFS

RESUMPTION OF INTERIOR MISSIONS--Public awareness campaigns have resumed in Chari-Baguirmi with the visit of a governmental delegation to Mandelia, Ba-Illi and Bousso. This delegation, led by the Minister of Planning and Reconstruction, Mr Tahir Souleymane, also included the Secretary of State for Finances, Mr Torna Hemir. The two members of the GUNT emphasized the need to support the government's actions in the struggle it is waging against Chad's enemies. [Text] [Ndjamena INFO TCHAD in French 22 Mar 82 p 4] 9927

CSO: 4719/811

## TIGRE SPOKESMAN MEETS PRESS PEOPLE

Mogadishu HEEGAN in English 9 Apr 82 p 2

[Text]

Mogadishu, Thursday-Mr. Yamani Kidani a Spokesman of the Tigre Liberation Front (T.P.L.F.) now visiting the Somali Democratic Republic disclosed at a press conference held at the Somali Ministry of Information Conference Hall here, that the Tigre Liberation forces have killed several thousands of Abyssinian forces during this month.

He told the press conference that his front, side by side with the EPLF of Eritrea, have scored tremendous victories over the invading Russian, Abyssinian Libian and

South Yemeni forces in Eritrea.

«The Tigre Liberation forces have not consolidated their positions in Tigre only but are now in Wallo Region, central Ethiopia, and we have killed over 200 Abyssinian forces there and seized

arms and amunitions which helped to train the militia forces and more Tigre freedom fighters opposing the fascist regime of Haile Mariam» the spokesman said.

Speaking about the co-operation with other Liberation forces in the Horn, Mr. Kidani said that his front has excellent co-ordination with the other forces in the Horn fighting against Abyssinia black colonialism.

Accompanied by the Regional Representative in Mogadishu Mr. Said Ali, the spokesman indicated that they received very little arms aid and that they are engaged in a relentless liberation war against a world power, like Soviet Union with Libya and Yemen.

He concluded that their ultimate goal is to bring about freedom and peace for their people who have been fighting in a guerilla war for several years.

«SONNA»

## ETHIOPIA

### BRIEFS

ERITREAN BATTLE CLAIMS--Eritrean fighters yesterday disclosed they have killed 287 soldiers of the Abyssinian black colonialist regime and have wounded 230 in clashes this month. The reports add that most of the clashes took place on the outskirts of Nacfa in the north of Eritrea. The reports also say the Abyssinian government yesterday alleged that many of the fighters were killed and that the Eritreans face various difficulties, including food and medical shortages. [Text] [LD061054 Mogadishu Domestic Service in Somali 0330 GMT 6 May 82]

ENVOY IN SEYCHELLES--The Ethiopian ambassador to East Africa, Me Mengiste Desta, today presented his credentials to the Seychellois President. Ambassador Mengiste is based in Nairobi, Kenya. [EA060058 Addis Ababa Domestic Service in Amharic 1900 GMT 5 May 82]

CSO: 4797/15

BONGO CALLS FOR PAN-AFRICAN FORCE FOR ANGOLA

AB121655 Luanda ANGOP in French 1414 GMT 12 May 82

[Text] Luanda, 12 May (ANGOP)--Gabonese President Omar Bongo has stated that his projected visit to Angola will be a familiarization one during which the two countries will have the opportunity to expand areas of cooperation within the framework of the excellent relations existing between them.

In an interview with a team of Angolan newsmen in Libreville, the Gabonese head of state also indicated with regard to the acts of aggression against Angola that it was necessary to send a pan-African force to Angola to ensure Angola's defense rather than to send one to Chad.

The pan-African peacekeeping force stationed in Chad should be sent to Angola and be replaced in Chad by the UN blue helmets, he said.

On the silence of some African countries on racist South Africa's attacks on the People's Republic of Angola, President Bongo stressed that it is painful to note that when the Africans meet at OAU summits resolutions are adopted, the problem is discussed, speeches are made and yet when they return home these resolutions and declarations remain dead letters. With regard to the same issue he said that within the OAU we must speak the same language, that is the language of firmness, sincerity and the defense of Angola.

On the aggressive attitude of the North American administration toward Angola, the Gabonese head of state said this problem was due to the lack of understanding on the part of the American Government. The American Government does not know our problems well and moreover, it does not know that it is not by helping an opponent of the Angolan regime that one can accomplish something, he stressed.

As far as Gabon is concerned, if there is an Angolan element in Gabon preaching against his country and Angola's policy, we will put him on a plane and expell him from our national territory, the Gabonese head of state said in reference to the expulsion of puppet Angolan elements from Gabon.

With regard to the Customs and Economic Union of Central Africa [UDEAC], President Bongo thinks that Angola's contribution to this organization will be

a multiple one. He added that as the UDEAC is a purely economic organization which deals with economics and as Angola is an important country, Angola's contribution will be highly appreciated.

It will be recalled that relations between Angola and Gabon have developed spectacularly since the brief visit to Gabon by the Angolan president, Jose Eduardo do Santos, during the UDEAC summit which was held in Libreville in December 1981. During his stay, the Angolan head of state held talks with his Gabonese counterpart, Omar Bongo, in the presence of the Congolese president, Denis Sassou-Nguesso. Also within the framework of bilateral relations, an Angolan delegation from the state secretariat for cooperation went to Libreville last January to draft with Gabonese officials the first economic agreements which will be signed shortly in Luanda.

CSO: 4719/933

BONGO COMMENTS ON SDAR ADMISSION TO OAU

AB121745 Luanda ANGOP in French 1435 GMT 12 May 82

[Text] Luanda, 12 May (ANGOP)--Gabonese head of state Omar Bongo, talking about the admission of the SDAR to the OAU, admitted that OAU Secretary General Edem Kodjo has the right to sometimes ask African heads of state to assume their responsibilities.

In an interview granted to ANGOP in Libreville, Omar Bongo added that Edem Kodjo should have informed the heads of state beforehand that during the ministerial session he intended to admit the SDAR. He, however, felt that that was not the appropriate time to do it.

He also indicated that there is still a resolution in force: the African heads of state may hold an extraordinary summit on this matter at any time and at any place if the current chairman so decides and the parties concerned agreed.

Talking about the link between the admission of the SDAR into the OAU and the next holding of its summit in Tripoli, Omar Bongo said he did not think that summit would be compromised by the POLISARIO affair.

The Gabonese president hoped that wisdom and realism would guide Africans and African heads of state in particular so that they could come together before the Tripoli summit to find ways and means of holding that summit in the right atmosphere.

It would be sad and even disastrous if the OAU does not survive and it would be very unfortunate that Africans, who with a certain level of maturity set up the OAU, should allow it to die or break up, he concluded.

CSO: 4719/933



## GABON

### BRIEFS

BONGO OUTLINES DEVELOPMENT PROSPECTS--Luanda, 12 May (ANGOP)--Gabonese President Omar Bongo has in an interview outlined Gabon's socioeconomic development prospects in the coming years. Priority areas for these prospects are the trans-Gabon railroad, agriculture, health and education. Talking to Angolan reporters in Libreville, President Bongo stated that a special emphasis will be laid on the development of small and medium-sized enterprises, as well as the training of the youth and national political unity. He also indicated that his country is currently implementing a provisional plan which will end in 1983, and a 5-year plan will be drawn up in 1984. In this context, he stressed the need for Gabonese to be conscientious and united for, he stressed, without national unity no government, however strong it may be, can do anything concrete. Finally, President Omar Bongo said during the 14 years of renovation, the Gabonese have shown political maturity. [Text] [AB121901 Luanda ANGOP in French 1801 GMT 12 May 82]

CSO: 4719/933

## MALAISE OVER POTENTIAL LOSSES, GAINS AFFECTS SOCIETY

London WEST AFRICA in English No 3378, 3 May 82 p 1180

[Text] THERE IS every indication that the struggle over state power continues in Ghana. After four months of government by the Provisional National Defence Council, there is still no doubt that the prevailing view is in favour of participatory democracy of a decidedly popular nature. Naturally, the struggle has continued to be over the practical details which determine the old question of in whose hands power lies.

Perhaps the most important observation to make is that increasing numbers of people have realised that kalabule is not an isolated phenomenon which can therefore be dealt with in isolation, but that it is an operative part of an economic and political system. By the force of circumstances, people were first forced to ask themselves why, for instance, chiefs and moneylenders, as well as managers, could not join or form defence committees. In some cases, the same question had to be asked time and time again until it was decided that management personnel could only participate if they had the approval of 95 per cent of the workforce. This is an example of the preliminary stages of class consciousness in action.

However, there are those Ghanaians who fear distinct class perceptions on the part of ordinary Ghanaians. This anxious category is not limited to some managers (bank and otherwise), business executives and senior civil servants. There are very anxious senior officers in the armed forces, and other people of similarly high status. Their general problem is that since December 31, the original basis of their status has been challenged, mostly indirectly.

Anxiety over an uncharted, and potentially revolutionary, future is not limited only to those who know what they have to lose. It also affects those who cannot see

clearly what they will gain, and are more comfortable with the little that they know they would get out of the present system. Such a group is students in general. Big politics have been played in recent weeks over the question of whether students should return to campus immediately or stay out on task force duties until October. Much more was at stake than just the fate of the school year, or whether patriotic lecturers would pick up their credentials and movable assets and run abroad, for want of students.

The stakes involved the uses to which the most easily organised section of the most dynamic portion of the population would be put in the present situation. Would they continue with the task force programme — which, it is said, has achieved great things in cocoa evacuation, community health, tax collection, and has also shown a great number of students the way in which much of Ghana's wealth is produced and in what conditions — with its beneficial effects on both students and the population at large, or would they settle back into the academic routine of the old university system, a form which is contested in industrial societies much more than in places like Ghana, which inherited this model from Oxbridge.

One side of opinion feels that a harmful political vacuum has been created, at a stroke, by removing students from a direct involvement in these initial stages of transforming Ghana. By the same token, another opinion is comforted because another brick has fallen into place to make Ghana, May, 1982, more like December, 1981, only a little harder to live in.

What is certain is that apart from magnificent advances in tax collection, the pace of reform appears to be slow in Ghana,

though not for a lack of intentions. The old order has been overthrown but not defeated; it is resilient and well-connected locally and internationally. It would be wrong to blame the PNDC for a lack of direction because it has pointed the way forward to a national democratic revolution. Those who support genuine democratisation in Ghana need to identify the "bottlenecks" and act in consequence. When momentum dies down, the result can be stagnation and putrefaction.

CSO: 4700/1201

## REPORTED MOVES TO CLOSE WEEKLY DAILY PAPERS

London WEST AFRICA in English No 3378, 3 May 82 p 1229

[Text]

Workers of the New Times Corporation have petitioned the PNDC to stop moves in certain quarters aimed at stopping the publication of the *Ghanaian Times* and the *Weekly Spectator*. At a People's Assembly called by the PDC in the corporation's premises in Accra, the workers noted that a committee had been set up to work out the plan of closing down the only national papers with authentic Ghanaian origin, having been established by the late Dr. Kwame Nkrumah in 1958 to propagate the people's struggle for true freedom.

In the view of the workers, such a move to close down one of the two national dailies and weeklies at the height of the Revolution could only be inspired by counter-revolutionary manoeuvres to bring about unemployment and other consequences which would dis-

credit the PNDC. The resolution noted that the proposal was made at a meeting of representatives of the Graphic Corporation, the GBC, and the Ministry of Information without proper representation of the New Times Corporation.

The workers were surprised that although the Secretary for Information, Mr. Ato Austin, promised some time ago to take immediate action on certain recommendations made by the workers nothing had since been done. The workers felt that the delay in implementing the recommendations was aimed at shielding some management staff. They pointed out that when PDC-inspired workers' reports and resolutions to government were not followed up, the PDCs not only lost the confidence of the workers but also lost faith in the government.

CSO: 4700/1201

## BRIEFS

REGISTRATION OF PRIVATELY-OWNED TRACTORS--The Upper Regional Administration has started registering all privately owned tractors in the region with the view to supplying adequate diesel oil and lubricant for the operation of the tractors during this farming season. This exercise is also designed to ensure easy mobilisation of all tractors in the region for the benefit of small-scale farmers. Dr. Abdulai Issaka Tinorgah, Regional Secretary, said the main objective of the exercise was to ensure that tractor owners did not monopolise the use of tractors as was the case in the past. [Text] [London WEST AFRICA in English No 3378, 3 May 82 p 1228]

YOUTH ORGANIZING COMMISSION MEMBERSHIP--The National Youth Organising Commission has been reconstituted to streamline direct and control the activities of the commission. A statement signed by PNDC Secretary for the Ministry of Youth and Sports, Mr. Zaya Yeebo, said the reconstitution has been necessary to ensure the smooth administration of the entire set-up of the former national youth council. This is to save the Ministry from embarrassment emanating from pronouncements made by members of the commission. The members of the commission are: Dr. Kwesi Botchway, chairman; Mr. Shaibo Ahmed Gariba, Mr. Twiritwi Opoku and Mr. Philip Gardiner. The rest are Mr. O. Akwetey, Miss B. Ago and Miss C. Nuamah. The statement hoped that the members would attach some seriousness, revolutionary views and enthusiasm to their assignment. [Text] [London WEST AFRICA in English No 3378, 3 May 82 pp 1227-1228]

TARKWA MINES GOLD PRODUCTION--Workers of Tarkwa Gold Mines have steadily raised production since January this year. According to Mr. Acheampong, mines manager, production had risen from the very low 1,800 fine ounces in December last year to 2,120 ounces in January, 2,760 in February and 3,238 ounces in March. However, current production was only a quarter of the mines maximum monthly capacity of 12,000 fine ounces. Mr. Acheampong said the Limann Administration's campaign to attract foreign investment in the gold mining sector was aimed at handing over the mines to Lonrho. He added that there was no need to import foreign personnel before maximum production could be achieved. "What is needed is a new plant and equipment and an improvement in the conditions of service of the miners." Mr. Acheampong felt that with competent management by Ghanaians the mines could operate for the next 200 years. [Text] [London WEST AFRICA in English No 3378, 3 May 82 p 1230]

CSO: 4700/1201



SEKOU TOURE SPEECH FOLLOWING REELECTION AS PRESIDENT

AB171859 Conakry Domestic Service in French 1300 GMT 15 May 82

[Speech by Guinean President Ahmed Sekou Toure to the members of the Political Bureau, the Central Committee and the government when they presented him with goodwill wishes following his reelection as president of the People's Republic of Guinea and on the occasion of the celebration of the 35th anniversary of the Guinean Democratic Party in Conakry on 14 May--recorded]

[Excerpts] Comrades members of the Political Bureau [applause], comrade members of the Central Committee and of the government [applause], comrade cadres of the party state [applause], once again I thank you--thank you very much. The message addressed to me on your behalf by our companion and friend, El Hajj Lansana Beavogui, the prime minister, [applause] is a message of the renewal of your confidence and of your esteem, as well as of the affirmation of your readiness to cooperate in our revolutionary process not only to the service of the people of Guinea and the peoples of Africa but also that of all the peoples of the world, and to humanity as a whole. I therefore say thank you for this message.

The Guinean Democratic Party [PDG] is 35 years old, and has marked the existence of our people; a people with confidence and willingness who had to fight against the phenomenon of evil and avoid every negative influence in order to fully achieve their aims. As these people showed their willingness and their capacity, the fight began. And it is this fight that began the history of the country. It is the effort of all the people to obey continuity--that is to say [word indistinct], rupture and poverty. This simply means that the PDG is a part of the achievements of all the men and women who rose up against evil and wanted to establish their existence through what they consider to be the element of their wellbeing, and of their equilibrium. The PDG therefore delves into the past of the people--of the people of Guinea and of the peoples of Africa. [applause]

I mean to say that the explosions of popular joy, the intense, total and integral mobilization of all the people on 9 May 1982 have a deep significance; it is the unanimous expression of confidence in the popular Guinean regime [applause], and if a tree needs ecological conditions to enable its seed to germinate, grow and produce for the wellbeing of man, the same ecological conditions are needed equally by man--these conditions are the way of life of the people themselves.

The quality of intrasocial relations, the nature of behavior and the objectives towards which the efforts of everyone are geared constitute the ecological conditions of man. If the most gifted, the most intelligent and the most sensitive man should be placed in conditions that do not allow his capacities to blossom, his potentialities will never show. [applause] But naturally, if the least gifted man finds himself in the best of political and social conditions and is in perfect contact with the people, benefitting everyday from the teachings of the people and receiving needed knowledge and skill from the best of the people and if he is ready to be reproached at any moment of his life when he is on the wrong path and encouraged whenever he is on the right path --under such conditions he has the best opportunities for integral development of his faculties and for the continuous growth of his productivity, because he is linked with the people and enriches himself through the people. He does not take from the people what he must give to the people. He becomes useful to the people because, first of all, the people were useful to him. [applause]

Let us therefore say that everything now depends on the leadership of the party at all levels. The people have demonstrated their vigor and rigor of deliberated faith, as well as demonstrations of their active quality of unity, but do they have the leadership they deserve? This is the question that I ask myself. Whereas, throughout the demonstration people were very happy and very proud, let me tell you that I have wept from fear. Has the PDG the leadership that it deserves? I want to answer for myself. My duty is to speak the truth, but not to speak to please people. [applause] Yesterday, I would also have liked to be as happy as all other militants by responding affirmatively to this question. That is why I am asking all of you to make an effort, beginning with myself. We have spoken of political revolution, cultural revolution and we have engaged our youth in the work sites for the repersonalization of the culture of Africa--the revalorization of all the moral riches of our continent. But although the people believe, there are some cadres who do not believe in the cultural revolution and who cheat with the implications of decisions made by the party state. We have to draw lessons and we have to adapt ourselves to the exigences of our functions. Our dignity demands that while we undertake engagements in the interest of the people, we should respect the terms if we do not want to or cannot respect them, the same dignity demands that we resign so that our people can put another son there who will be true to them. [applause] How can we enforce on others a decision that we have made and then fail to obey this decision ourselves? What is eternal is the function for life--that is the people and their representatives should create conditions in the renewal process, so that no one should regret the death of such and such a person because the said person might have shown more ability; and that will depend on today's deliberations, today's discipline and today's training that everyone of us will impose on himself today and on total adhesion to the irreversible character of the fight engaged in on behalf of the party state, Guinea, Africa and the world as a whole. [end recording]

CSO: 4719/933

POLITICAL BUREAU CREATES NEW PARTY INSTITUTIONS

AB072054 Conakry Domestic Service in French 1615 GMT 7 May 82

[Excerpt] The National Political Bureau held a working session on Friday, 7 May 1982, from 1000 to 1500 under the chairmanship of President Ahmed Sekou Toure, secretary general of the Democratic Party of Guinea and supreme leader of the revolution. During this session, the National Political Bureau devoted its work to the smooth running, strict regularity and high morality of operations concerning the presidential elections, the solemnity of the proclamation of the results of the polls as well as the proper organization of popular celebration of the inauguration of the new presidential mandate.

During the session, the National Political Bureau was informed of the decision of the People's National Assembly creating two high institutions of the party. First, a Constitutional Council composed of five members will be charged with expressing its opinions on the regularity of the electoral operations concerning the election by universal suffrage of the president of the Revolutionary People's Republic of Guinea. The Constitutional Council will give a ruling on any claims and complaints concerning the smooth running of the elections. It will make a detailed report to be submitted to the Supreme Constitutional Assembly.

Secondly, the Supreme Constitutional Assembly is created to be the supreme body of the party. It is composed of 600 members, including all members of the Central Committee, all members of government, all 210 members of the People's National Assembly; all members of the National Electorate of the National Confederation of Guinean Workers, the Revolutionary Union of Guinean Women, the Youth of the Democratic African Revolution, and the joint chiefs of staff; as well as the managing staff of the General Commissioners of the Revolution and the 35 federations of the Democratic Party of Guinea.

The Supreme Constitutional Assembly will be entrusted with proclaiming the final results of the elections, and it is before it that the head of state will take the oath of fidelity to the Guinean people and their revolution.

CSO: 4719/933

## BRIEFS

SDAR ISSUE--Conakry, 17 May (AFP)--The Organization of African Unity (OAU) will remain paralysed and may even split if the dispute over admission of Western Sahara is not solved soon, Guinea President Ahmed Sekou Toure said yesterday. He told French reporters he was confident however that the OAU would rescind the controversial and "illegal" decision in February by OAU Secretary-General Kodjo to admit the (Western) Saharan Arab Republic to de facto membership of the OAU. Such a decision was only for African heads of state to make, he said. The problem of Western Sahara was not admission to the OAU but how to organize the self-determination referendum agreed on by both the OAU and Morocco, whose troops have occupied Western Sahara since Spain withdrew as colonial power in 1975. President Sekou Toure said that despite his quarrel with France's ruling Socialist Party after it criticised human rights violations in Guinea in 1977, he still hoped for good relations with the government of President Francois Mitterrand. [Text] [AB170831 Paris AFP in English 0736 GMT 17 May 82]

CSO: 4719/933

## KENYA

FOREIGN MINISTER INDICATED PROGRESS ON NAMIBIA TOO SLOW

AB061642 Paris AFP in English 1533 GMT 6 May 82

[Text] Nairobi, 6 May (AFP)--The Western proposals for Namibian independence have been rejected by the South-West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) and the southern African frontline states because they were taking "an inordinately long time," Kenyan Foreign Minister Robert Ouko said here today.

In a comment on Tuesday's meeting in Dar es Salaam by foreign ministers of the frontline states--Angola, Botswana, Mozambique, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe--along with Nigeria and Kenya, Mr Ouko said there was "dissatisfaction with the speed of progress" towards a solution to the Namibian question.

After six months no solution was in sight, even on the first phase of the proposals put forward by the United Nations contact group--Britain, Canada, France, the United States and West Germany--covering the electoral system to choose a Namibian constitutional assembly, Mr Ouko said. "Even after agreement on phase one, phases two and three will take a similarly long time," he added.

Recalling that the Dar es Salaam meeting backed SWAPO's call for new round-table all-party talks on Namibia, Mr Ouko said the time had come for more positive progress. "We believe that a discussion around the conference table will speed up the progress," he added.

Mr Ouko, who had been informing the ambassadors of contact group and African nations in Nairobi of the result of the meeting, said that the frontline states had welcomed both SWAPO's "intensification of armed struggle" and its "desire to continue on the peaceful path" toward a Namibian settlement.

CSO: 4700/1203

## MADAGASCAR

### BRIEFS

CURRENCY DEVALUATION ANNOUNCED--Antananarivo, 17 May (AFP)--Madagascar is devaluing its currency by 15 percent, as against an original proposal of 30 percent put forward by the International Monetary Fund, President Didier Ratsiraka said here today. The devaluation would be formally signed with the IMF shortly, he said. The move has been expected for some weeks, and follows Madagascar's early April decision to let its franc float freely. Madagascar withdrew from the "franc zone" in 1973 but its currency remained tied to the French franc and other currencies. This is now no longer so. [Text]  
[AB171558 Paris AFP in English 1521 GMT 17 May 82]

CSO: 4700/1216



MACHEL CONTRASTS BEHAVIOR OF PROTESTANT, CATHOLIC RELIGIONS

Maputo TEMPO in Portuguese 11 Apr 82 pp 26-45

[Speech by President Samora Machel in Xai-Xai; date not specified]

[Excerpts] On the last day of his visit to Gaza Province, President Samora Machel presided over a rally which lasted about 3 hours and which was attended by approximately 30,000 persons. During that meeting, the chief of state delivered a speech that we are publishing here in its entirety. A large portion of his speech was extemporaneous.

First of all, we want to apologize.

You have been here since this morning despite the cold and the rain. I didn't know it was cold in Gaza. But cold is better than heat.

I left here--Xai-Xai--in 1952, so it has been 30 years since I last visited Xai-Xai. This is my first visit, so I wanted to visit all the places in this city that I would speak to you about.

That was why I made you wait. But again, we apologize. Thank you.

I don't know which language I can use in speaking to you. If I use Changane, I will not get deeply into what I have to say to you. On the other hand, if I address you in Portuguese, you will not understand me very well. I ask your permission to speak to you in both languages.

The Portuguese taught me Portuguese. I write in Portuguese. Some of you understand Portuguese but do not write it.

Those of you who understand Portuguese but do not write it, raise your hands. (A number of those present raised their hands.)

Now those who write and speak Portuguese. (A few raised their hands.) Now those who do not write Portuguese but speak it. (Many people raised their hands.) And those who neither understand nor speak it. (A few raised their hands.) And those who neither understand nor speak it [repetition as published]. (Very few raised their hands.)

All right. So many of you here do not write Portuguese, but you understand it. In the old days, how did you buy sugar at the trading post? Didn't you speak Portuguese at the trading post? And how did you buy meat at the butcher shop? And how did the prostitutes get along in their business? Do you understand? ("Yes.") How did the prostitutes take money from the hands of the men? They did it by speaking Portuguese, didn't they? ("Yes.") So we are going to speak Portuguese. Thank you.

#### What We Saw in the Province

As soon as we arrived, we visited the Manjacaze, Chibuto, and Chokwe Districts and the capital city itself, Xai-Xai. We were greeted on all sides in an atmosphere of warmth and enthusiasm--in an atmosphere of confidence and of certainty of victory. When we see your eyes, your foreheads, your faces, and your bodies when you are dancing, this shows us that you are lions who will overcome poverty. You will be winners.

We noted that the great availability of the masses--the readiness with which they have answered the party's call to eliminate underdevelopment--does not always encounter a correct response on the part of the government's local structures. We saw stagnation--the communal villages and the structures are not being developed, the sense of responsibility is not growing, and interest, enthusiasm, and dynamism do not exist.

We saw negligence and the spirit of carelessness. We saw it in the weeds and dirt in the city's streets, in the towns, and in the district capitals. A dirty city infested with snakes and rats. Is that the way for people to live? If the city is dirty and full of weeds, it becomes a shelter for rats and snakes, millipedes, cockroaches, and lizards. If the city is dirty, it is because the people who live in that city have dirty heads. It is because the city's inhabitants have trash inside their heads.

We visited the districts and saw that there are no flowers on your porches or sidewalks and no whitewash on our walls. There are no gardens and swings--no benches and grass where children play and adults relax.

On the roads, we saw telephone poles or wires that have been broken for weeks or even months, with no concern on the part of the government departments to repair them immediately, even though it is their duty to do so.

And then there are the profiteers. When they are tried and convicted, they must work. Thieves who are tried and convicted must go to work. They must not stay in prison, where we have to feed them for nothing. What is this?

Look at those things of the state--of the people--that required sacrifices--that required the lives of people in jails, in the trenches at Guevani, in Xinavane, in the mines of South Africa, and everywhere. Those buildings were built at the cost of our blood and sweat, and we do not know how to treat them as they deserve.

Our property--the assets of the government, the assets of the people, and the wealth of the people--is being destroyed. There are those who occupy houses without paying rent. Where will we find the money to build more houses for all of you? Where will we find the money to buy factories for Gaza so that we will have two or three textile factories producing loincloth, kerchiefs, and blouses?

Where will we find the money if we have these loafers--these bandits--who occupy houses without paying rent and who destroy the government's houses? Are they real people?

In the Chibuto District, we visited the Eduardo Chivambo Mondlane communal village. There we saw in the flesh the high degree of political awareness which the inhabitants carry in themselves, but which we are not yet capable of transforming into a force that will socialize the rural area and develop and diversify production. We were the object of a great people's demonstration--of great happiness and elation. Those virtues of initiative by the people are not being accompanied by appropriate political work by the party and the democratic mass organizations.

We went to Chokwe.

When we speak of Chokwe, we are speaking of the Limpopo River Basin and its dam. We are speaking of the residents of that part of the country: of the quarters of Generalissimo Maguigwana, and of the Limpopo Valley, the country's granary.

There are great and fantastic achievements there.

Teams consisting entirely of Mozambicans are developing and have already developed additional thousands of hectares of irrigated land. But parallel with that, there are tremendous inadequacies in management of the work, and there is negligence and indifference: there is a lack of pride in getting the work done.

The machinery at the branches was an example of that. Hundreds of machines worth many hundreds of thousands of contos were standing in the middle of weeds, exposed to sun and rain, covered with dirt that had been collecting for months, and rusting away, with parts and spares scattered all around. The country's efforts are being frittered away in neglect.

We must say, however, that the effect of the offensive launched a short time ago is already making itself felt as far as the machinery is concerned.

There is also the matter of hygiene and cleanliness. The workers now cut their fingernails, the workers now rinse their mouths, they have their hair cut, and they shave.

They wear uniforms and they are people. They are no longer the same people who used to be destroying the people's property--your property.

## Value of Our Independence and Our Civilization

Today, my brothers, we are living as free men, with our heads held very high and lifted up--we are proud of our own history. Why? Because no one freed us. We freed ourselves. It was we ourselves who liberated the fatherland and chose the path leading to the elimination of underdevelopment.

It was we ourselves who imposed the unconditional and complete destruction of Portuguese colonialism in Mozambique. It was we who expelled oppression from our land so that finally, after so many years of suffering and death, we could build our life in peace and quiet.

We are the survivors of history. We have this responsibility to bear the weight of the memory of our forefathers and to make that inheritance an active force in the building of the new society.

When they tried to kill the spirit of resistance against the invader: when they tried to transform our culture into a caricature--into "customs and usages" that we were supposed to be ashamed of--we resisted.

Our culture did not die. It lived.

It took on richer forms: it developed clandestinely and became a powerful instrument in the struggle for national independence.

FRELIMO gave the people back their culture.

For the colonists, culture and civilization meant:

1. The elimination of the family and the promotion of prostitution--the transformation of women into merchandise.
2. The destruction of honest work and the promotion of lawlessness, crime, and banditry.
3. The killing of the spirit to resist the invader and the development of servility and the spirit of lackeys, which is what the administrators of traditional settlements, the native policemen, and some of the "assimilated" Africans were.

Our culture and our civilization cannot take their inspiration from those values, which are based on the exploitation of man by man--on racism, tribalism, regionalism, and the destruction of the most elementary dignity of human beings.

Because of that, we must eliminate a few marks of colonial culture which still persist in resisting the winds of change.

We cannot permit disguised prostitution--semiprostitution. Did you hear that? ("We heard it.") "Oh, let's do it, but don't pay me a lot of money." That is what they say. There is no room here for such people. Religious people say

that however secretly one practices a bad act far from everyone and everything, it will come to light sooner or later. It will be known.

We cannot allow our daughters and our women--Mozambican women--to be violated in this manner.

It is not only a dishonor for Mozambican women but a blemish on Mozambican society itself.

We cannot allow girls who are still children to become pregnant through unions which are due to circumstance and which we ourselves do not control. It is intolerable that in our society, there should be children--innocent young ones--who are children without a father: "children of the forest."

Such a child "comes out of the forest": it is born in the forest, and we do not know who its father is. It is born like a goat. Such a child is unclean, but its father and mother are even less clean. The child is not guilty. If we all had children in that manner, where would the monkeys, gazelles, and goats go, since we would be taking their place? If we go about it in such a manner, the country will be infested with second-class citizens within 10 or 15 years.

They will have no moral or material support. A woman who has five children by five different men--is she a person?

We cannot allow our children to run around poorly dressed, disheveled, dirty, and with long fingernails.

Our child must be our pride.

Our child is the fruit of our flesh.

Individual and collective hygiene must be an integral part of our nature.

We cannot allow the practice of adultery, which still exists, to continue. It is a crime against the family and against society: it means disrespect for the laws of social life and for the dignity of the family.

We have our culture, our civilization, and our own personality--the personality of Mozambican man. We must cultivate those values, because they are ours--they are the reason for our freedom.

We must be aware of the meaning of our existence as a free people--the meaning of our dignity as a people that has always rejected servitude and never bowed to the invader.

We must cultivate our moral integrity, and that means:

1. We must be honorable and keep the respect of society.
2. We must be faithful to the responsibility and commitments of matrimony and the family.



3. We must not dishonor the memory of those in whose debt we stand for what we are today.

4. We must have an organized life and reject the indecent burden carried by capitalist society, meaning vagrancy, alcoholism, prostitution, and lawlessness.

5. We must break with the morals of the dominators and adopt socialist ethics.

We must establish correct relationships between men and women--relationships that lead to mutual respect, affection, and love.

Beating one's wife, which is a habit among many people here, and coming home drunk after receiving one's pay are characteristic of unconscious and unthinking animals. They are characteristic of those who make no distinction between the man who lives on feelings, emotions, and intelligence and the animal that is guided only by instinct.

We do not pile up drunken sprees; we do not collect vices and shameful diseases.

Because of that, marriage must be the most serious and solemn act for the family.

Men and women base their relationship on love.

Marriage must therefore be a worthy and profound act.

We celebrate marriage with happiness and solemnity, conferring on the act the dignity and value it deserves in our society of honest men and women.

That is why we are building family palaces: to show the dignity of marriage and the family--a dignity that colonialism and polygamy take away.

That is our civilization and our culture.

It was not built from nothing. Those were also the values of our forefathers: values that we have inherited and enriched.

Right here in Gaza Province, the Protestant Church, which was a center of resistance against colonialism, used to cultivate some of those values. We want to acknowledge publicly the contribution which the Protestant Church made to the Mozambican people.

The Protestants helped us a lot.

They educated us so that we would know the value of man. As soon as the Portuguese had achieved complete domination of our country, the Protestants began building churches where they taught us our history, our worth, and our own identity. They taught us that we were Mozambicans--Africans and not Portuguese. They never betrayed our people as the Catholics did. The Catholics tried to convince us that we were Portuguese. Thank you for that, Protestants.



When colonial violence smothered the sound of weapons--of national resistance--when Gungunhana was imprisoned and Maguigwana killed, and when the Catholic Church appeared as the ally of Portuguese colonialism, making an alliance between the cross and the sword and turning religious instruction into an instrument for consolidating foreign oppression, it was, to a large extent, within the Protestant churches that the spirit of resistance and struggle against the invader took refuge and reorganized.

Because of that, the Protestant Church was a target for repression by the colonial government and the latter's ally, the Catholic Church.

And its influence was felt in the social area as well:

1. In individual hygiene.
2. In collective hygiene.
3. In the struggle against intrigue and hypocrisy.

It was a Protestant--Ngazane Kambako--who introduced the plow in the years between 1910 and 1920, and that act brought about a profound transformation of economic life in this region.

We acknowledge that contribution by the Protestant churches because we are honest.

Our policy toward religion is clear: we respect everyone's religion. It is a constitutional right, because we see every religious person primarily as a Mozambican--a patriot. FRELIMO does not view people in terms of their religious beliefs; it does not view a person as being Catholic, Moslem, or Protestant. FRELIMO sees only Mozambicans. It is the citizen alone who sees himself as a Catholic, Protestant, or Moslem.

We respect their religious convictions, and that is why our constitution provides freedom of religion.

The Mozambican socialist fatherland is for everyone.

The difference between us party members and religion is that we believe in the strength of man: in his creative capacity and ability to transform the world. For religious people, everything is done by God, who lives above men.

In the north, the Catholics opened their churches to allow Portuguese soldiers to sleep there. You used to pray and ask God to give the Portuguese more strength. They quoted the Bible: "From those who have little, more will be taken and given to those who have more. One must be poor to enter the kingdom of heaven." But they built great houses, fine cars, and wide roads, and at the same time, they were preaching to you that you must humbly accept suffering so that you can enter heaven. And you used to accept that.

We have the same ideas concerning the fight against alcoholism and prostitution, but when it comes to interpreting the world's phenomena, we differ.

The Portuguese soldiers were blessed before going out to massacre the inhabitants, and when they returned from the massacres, they were blessed again.

What kind of God is that, who permits such criminal acts? Here your land is the victim of floods every year, and you die of hunger. God does not help you; he is not sorry for you. My brothers, pray all you want, but we have different opinions when it comes to a world view.

It is written in the Bible that the rich will not enter heaven. It is easier for a camel to pass through a needle than it is for a rich man to enter heaven. But the people who used to preach that wanted to be rich, not poor. They wore good shoes, slept in fine houses, and ate the best there was. They rode around in luxurious cars, had over 500 workers on their farms, got rich, and said that it was easier for a camel to pass through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter the kingdom of heaven. Do you agree with that?

Those who agree should not live in fine houses. The government is going to build very poor houses for them--where the cold and the rain come in--so that they can suffer and thus see the gates of heaven opened to them. We are going to give them arid land where they will be able to produce nothing, so that they can go hungry and thus merit heaven.

Listen carefully, believers. That is what contradicts FRELIMO's objectives. I don't want heaven. That is the point of disagreement between me and you. I only want to govern. I want to wear clothes, eat well, and study. That is where we disagree, but there are other ideas that we share. So we must not fight among ourselves. Let us study ways of cooperating with each other. I don't want to forbid you to pray. You can continue to pray, but pray that the country will be strong and that people will have food. Don't pray for people to be poor so that they can enter heaven. If that is what you pray for, you must not pray.

This is the situation, my brothers. You believed that all those things were the work of God. God does not grow old; He does not die. He protected the French, Portuguese, and British so that they could dominate other peoples.

Did you ever see God do anything?

You say: "Give to Caesar what is Caesar's and to God what is God's." I cannot go to church because I am Caesar. It is not possible to carry out orders from two kings. That is the difference between us in FRELIMO and you.

You have some positive teachings, however. You grow crops and clean your places, but you say that God did it. I believe that by what I have said to you, I have made myself understood. Someday I will return to visit you to see how you are praying--whether you are praying to make our country rich and fertile. Don't be afraid to go to church, and don't hide. Pray all you want. If you hide, we will suspect your activities. You can go to church on Sundays and be seen by everyone.

That is written in the Bible. But you must not entice children outside the church and talk to them about the existence of an imaginary God who protects people. You must pray in church and not outside church. Isn't it better that way? ("Yes.") Pray that your God will give us the strength to produce more and to eliminate hunger in this country. I am not the child of a pagan: I know how religious people think. I see what your eyes are saying.

To free the fatherland, and honoring the example set by our forefathers--Gungunhana, Magu gwana, and others--we established FRELIMO in 1962 and began fighting in 1964. It was we, not God, who did it.

We believe in our strength and in our abilities.

Who plants the cashew?

Who plants the mango?

Who opens the channel?

Who is going to build the country's granary?

Is it God or men?

For us, the answer is clear.

But we want to say that this does not mean that there is disagreement between us. We have common objectives.

That is why, as free citizens, as consistent patriots, and as honest, worthy, and proven workers, you have a place in our structures.

In the ranks of the fatherland and in the army combating poverty, there is a place for all those who love the fatherland, all those who are honest and worthy, and all those who love progress and peace.

We must have the spirit of the Mozambican fatherland and cultivate patriotism.

Armed Bandits

To transform Gaza--to make Gaza what we want it to be--it is necessary for the people to work in peace and tranquillity.

Disturbing their activity--their work--means delaying our development and the progress and well-being of the people.

There is no development without peace.

In the districts and localities we visited, we saw the people crying out their hatred of the armed bandits, the agents of imperialism, who have been causing disquiet and insecurity among the inhabitants.

The people want to fight the bandits, and that is why they asked us for weapons with which to eliminate the bandits.

Those bandits act without any principles: their action is not based on any principle or idea.

Incidentally, their conduct has consisted of the following:

1. Following the orders of the racists--Ian Smith's yesterday and Pretoria's today. They are lackeys of foreigners and are selling out the fatherland.
2. Kidnapping, mutilating, and killing party members, deputies, and members of cooperatives.
3. Kidnapping, mutilating, and killing teachers, students, nurses, and the population in general.
4. Attacking, looting, and destroying stores, homes, cooperatives, hospitals, and schools.
5. Raping women and killing children.

What kind of policy is that? Whom does it serve? Are those acts virtues or crimes? What punishment do the criminals deserve?

The Mozambican people are proud and combative. In Gaza Province, many glorious pages of our history have been written. Our pride, our patriotism, and our deep feeling for peace cannot allow [the bandits] to:

1. Dishonor the memory of our forefathers.
2. Insult the dignity of those who made the struggle against exploitation their reason for being.
3. Minimize the internationalist heroism of Gaza Province, which was the secure rear base for Zimbabwe's struggle and an overwhelming force in the destruction of the Smith regime.

Because of what we sense here in connection with the general feeling of the population of Gaza, we are confident that the days of those bandits--recruited, trained, equipped, financed, and armed by the regime of apartheid: the regime of the racist and illegal minority in South Africa--are numbered.

We will also win this battle.

We will win because the people are stronger than the strongest army of imperialism.

We will tell all our structures in Maputo that everywhere we went, we spoke of the bandits who attack parts of the Chibuto and Guija Districts. And we will

tell them that all the inhabitants requested weapons with which to kill the bandits.

Thank you.

The struggle continues!

Independence or death! ("We will win.")

Many thanks to everyone.

11798

CSO: 4742/291

## NAMIBIA

### SWAPO COMMUNIQUE DENOUNCES WESTERN CONTACT GROUP'S EFFORTS

EA051348 Luanda Domestic Service in Portuguese 0500 GMT 5 May 82

[Text] The Western contact group on Namibia is blocking the efforts of the international community to attain independence for the territory, which is illegally occupied by South Africa. This denunciation was contained in a SWAPO communique issued in Luanda yesterday.

The communique, issued on the occasion of the fourth anniversary of the Cassinga massacre in southern Angola, perpetrated on 4 May 1978 by South African troops against defenseless Angolan citizens and Namibian refugees, stated that the contact group had refrained from putting pressure on the Pretoria regime to accept the UN decolonization plan on Namibia.

The SWAPO communique stated that the contact group had said that SWAPO should accept its proposals in order to stop South Africa from committing more massacres and that nobody had said the South African troops should withdraw from Namibia, in accordance with UN Security Council Resolution No 375 of 1976 and No 435 of 1978. On this matter, the communique emphasized that the five Western countries that comprise the contact group had impeded the withdrawal of South African troops, which were the cause of violence in the territory.

SWAPO stated in the communique that the proposals made by the five had a certain number of defects which gave South Africa broad powers in the proposed process of transition for Namibia's independence. The communique emphasized that the names of hundreds of Namibian patriots who had been barbarously murdered in the Cassinga massacre would always be remembered in Namibia's history as heroes and martyrs of our freedom and human dignity.

CSO: 4742/303



# SWAPO INCURSIONS AS FROM 1976

Windhoek THE WINDHOEK ADVERTISER in English 4 May 82 p 4

[Text]

**AT least 110 Swapo terrorists have died since 1976 in limited incursions into White farming areas south of Namibia's so-called Red Line, according to Defence Headquarters in Pretoria.**

About 14 Security Force members have lost their lives in operations south of the Red Line, which have also claimed the lives of several civilians, including an old woman and two small children who were bayoneted to death.

During their first raid into the central parts of Namibia in 1976, Swapo terrorists succeeded in reaching Windhoek.

During a running battle lasting three weeks eight insurgents were killed.

A month later another Swapo group numbering about 21, infiltrated the Erongo mountains area. During the ensuing six weeks 17 of them were killed by Security Forces in hot pursuit operations.

Two SA soldiers were killed by enemy fire during the raid.

In March 1979 14 Swapo terrorists penetrated the farming zones in the vicinity of Tsumeb, Otavi, Outjo and Otjiwarongo, managing to keep on the run for almost three months in the dense bush.

According to Defence Headquarters two terrorists and two Security Force members died in the battle.

Two months later, in what was regarded as an extension of the previous terrorist offensive, Security Forces came to grips with a group of about 40 terrorists, killing four of them.

A smaller group, numbering about 12 infiltrated the same area about two months later, the Security Forces killed four but lost two of their own men in the six weeks that followed. The next major Swapo offensive south of the Red Line was in February 1980 when a group of 44 terrorists infiltrated the Tsumeb-Grootfontein-Waterberg triangle. Sixteen of them never made it back to southern Angola.

Security Forces killed a further eight of an original group of 18 terrorists who infiltrated the Otjikoto area in October that year.

In April last year only one of a group of 22 terrorists who penetrated the Tsumeb-Otavi area managed to escape being killed in a security force mop-up operation lasting two weeks.

CSO: 4700/1204

SWAPO INTRANSIGENCE ON ETHNICITY RAPPED

Windhoek THE WINDHOEK ADVERTISER in English 7 May 82 p 1

[Editorial]

[Text]

Admittedly there is considerable confusion at present as to where the international initiative on Namibia is heading.

But two pointers are recognisable in the tangled loose ends flapping about in Geneva, Washington and Dar-Es-Salaam, as well as amongst the threads of the Gordian Knot within which Namibia and SA are inextricably fastened.

● Swapo is not prepared to concede in the slightest to ethnicity in the political or constitutional spheres, whereas the interim

government in Namibia is based on an ethnic foundation.

● The Western Five's shuttle diplomacy is not paying dividends, because it is unable to bridge the gaps that separate the opposing forces through indirect consultation. The series of time lags that result, from such a method only serve to exacerbate the issues.

The latter points the way to another try at direct international negotiations, and the former points towards an amended interim constitution for the country — away from the ethnic

base of AG 8.

There are many obstacles in the way of both those developments, the reasons for which are known to us by now.

A major part of the whole problem up till and including now is that all diplomatic efforts are geared to removing obstacles out of the way.

Come the day when all efforts are directed towards solving the real problems facing us, instead of bickering about the obstacles.

Especially when those obstacles are party ideological phantom and selfish national pride.

CSO: 4700/1214

# SWAPO'S REJECTION OF PROPOSALS LABELED SETBACK

Windhoek THE WINDHOEK ADVERTISER in English 5 May 82 p 6

[Text]

**SWAPO is losing not only the military but also the diplomatic battle for Namibia.**

By rejecting the Western Contact Group's proposal for a 'one man, two votes' system the movement's leader, Sam Nujoma, has betrayed apparent fears that its hold on the population is not as secure as has been claimed.

He has made Swapo, instead of South Africa, responsible for holding up progress towards independence.

The 'one man, two votes' proposal was intended as a workable compromise between Swapo's insistence on a universal franchise election with no constitutional guarantees of representation for minorities, and South Africa's insistence on assurances that, not only would fair and free elections be held, but also that they would continue to be held.

That may not have been how the issue was presented for world consumption, but it was the impasse that the negotiators had to get around somehow.

By offering to give every Namibian one vote for his party and one vote for a constituency MP, the Western Contact Group sought to ensure that the party with majority support would rule — but that its powers would be held sufficiently in check by the elected local (in practice, probably ethnic) spokesmen to discourage any attempts to impose a one-party regime.

## SATISFIED

South Africa was satisfied that this way a way of preventing Swapo, whether or not it won the first independence election, from forthwith setting up a permanent dictatorship on the common 'one man, one vote, one election' pattern, so it had no hesitation in going along with the Western scheme.

Swapo just as promptly rejected it. The inevitable assumption was that it did so for the same reason.

This was the first time that Swapo had displayed any doubt about its ability to command majority support in any free Namibian election, and the effect on the course of the independence negotiations could be far-reaching.

From Swapo's previous declarations it would have been expected to claim that if every Namibian were given ten votes, let alone two, most of them by far would still go to the 'liberation' movement.

Instead it gave the impression that, although it has ways and means of getting a majority to vote for it as a party, it is much less convinced of its ability to stop a majority from also seizing such a chance of electing their own ethnic or neighbourhood representatives not committed to Swapo.

## UNWISE

Diplomatically, Swapo was unwise to convey such doubts, and justifying its stand by saying that the population of Namibia was 'too unsophisticated' to grasp the 'one man, two votes' system compounded the impression of discomposure.

You cannot describe people as too backward to exercise a franchise no more complicated than South Africa's system of electing an MP together with a provincial councillor, and in the same breath maintain that they are on the point of rising against their oppressors because they are denied a vote.

NO ONE BELIEVES IN 435 ANYMORE, ASSERTS MUDGE

Windhoek THE WINDHOEK ADVERTISER in English 10 May 82 p 3

[Text]

**THE Western Five's Namibia independence initiative received a further setback at the weekend when Mr Dirk Mudge, Chairman of the Ministers' Council and the DTA all but rejected UN Resolution 435 as a basis for settlement.**

Mr Mudge was addressing over 4 000 enthusiastic Alliance supporters in Katutura and Windhoek on his return from the US and UK where he met diplomatic leaders "directly involved" in the current phased negotiations on the Territory's future.

Hinting at the prospects of going ahead with pre-independence election plans without Swapo who had rejected the Contact Group's voting system for a constituent assembly, Mr Mudge stopped short of rejecting Resolution 435 out of hand, however.

Western diplomats were becoming disillusioned with 435, he stated.

Mr Mudge said he had travelled to the US and UK to become acquainted with attitudes there concerning Resolution 435 and its present chances of succeeding as a basis for a settlement.

"As one of the DTA's

leaders and Chairman of the interim government, it was necessary for me to find out if I should prepare for a sudden election or for an interim situation lasting longer than expected," he said.

"We must know where we stand. We cannot continue to live in a vacuum."

His meetings with diplomatic leaders abroad had led him to conclude: "Out of my heart's conviction, I found no enthusiasm that 435 is going to succeed."

#### OBVIOUS PESSIMISM

He added: "No matter how hard they tried to convince me that they would succeed in bringing Swapo and the Frontline states back on the road, their pessimism was so obvious, they could not hide it."

"It is time that somebody stands up to pronounce the death sentence on that resolution. No one believes it is going to work anymore."

Mr Mudge went on to say that "a lot of nonsense was being spoken in diplomatic circles recently, while we are waiting for a dream to become reality. We are tired of this now."

After having walked the road of international negotiations "step by step as far as the acceptance of

Phase One, the DTA is not prepared to be kept on a line by half-hearted African frontline and Swapo negotiators any longer," he continued.

"If the West leaders want to talk to us, they know what our address is, and if they think they can achieve a settlement without the DTA, they are welcome to try," challenged Mr Mudge.

Being a democrat, he was not against elections.

Mr Mudge said, but added: "An election date for SWA must be announced now and the best measure of agreement reached, and those who do not want to take part must be left behind."

According to Mr Mudge, Swapo was following "a delaying tactic characteristic of the communists", keeping the negotiating process just barely alive in order to undermine the morale of the people, and create the climate for increasing frustration and disillusionment.

"If Swapo is as strong as it says, why does it not fight an election instead of blocking an election which will give all parties an equal chance?" he asked.

#### MORE IMPORTANT

Uniting the inhabitants of SWA with their diverse ethnic and cultural traditions was more important for him than the holding of elections, continued Mr Mudge.

However, the unity which had been achieved during the 1978 elections was now being undermined by delay and frustration.

If the people of SWA stood together as they should and shake off many unnecessary differences, there would be no need to fear "those outside the country trying to frighten us with Russian weapons."

Mr Mudge rejected the possibility of negotiating with Swapo, saying "There are only two ways: to finish off terrorist leaders: take away their support amongst the people, or negotiate with them. I am not prepared to do the second."

Mr Mudge urged those "who want to cling to that which is not yours and who grab that which you do not deserve, leave it."

If unity could be achieved on that reasonable basis, then he would not be scared of Swapo, because "then we are one," Mr Mudge concluded.

DIPLOMATIC POSTURING SEEN HURTING COUNTRY MOST

Windhoek THE WINDHOEK ADVERTISER in English 5 May 82 pp 1, 3

[Editorial]

[Text]

It remains for the Western Five to show whether the latest impasse brought onto its settlement initiative for Namibia by Swapo is in fact a stalemate or only a checkmate.

Certainly there is very little room for manoeuvring between the two opposing sides.

In view of the original undertaking by the Contact Group that no party would be permitted to exercise a veto during any phase of the negotiation, its next move is being awaited with interest.

Swapo's rejection of Phase One appears at first value to be motivated by little else than ideological motives.

Its rejection was an-

nounced to coincide with Cassinga Day when SA Security Forces dealt the movement a severe blow inside its Angolan stronghold.

By rejecting Phase One Swapo has exercised its veto at a time when, ideological considerations aside, it had little to lose by allowing the Contact Group to move into Phase Two.

We all know that the real problems lie in store in Phase Two. By accepting the first phase, SA has scored a moral victory, and by rejecting it, Swapo has lost a point.

It would be interesting to see if the Western Five goes ahead with their current initiative

without Swapo, and what the consequences would be.

But for the people inside Namibia, interest is waning fast and frustration is mounting by the week.

The playball of international and regional games for almost the entire history of our people, we have once more become the victims of diplomatic posturing.

The eternal diplomatic games and the unending war are being waged at the expense of the country and its people themselves.

Must we all be maimed or dead, and the country totally bankrupt before it is given to those to whom it rightfully belongs?

WAR SHIFTS TO NEW FRONT IN KAOKOVELD

Windhoek THE WINDHOEK ADVERTISER in English 26 Apr 82 p 4

[Text] **NAMIBIA's bush war is intensifying with the opening up of a new front in the Kaokoveld.**

Local sources last week disclosed that incidents in the region had sky-rocketed in the first few months of this year. Whereas an estimated 44 guerrillas were active in the area during the whole of last year, so far this year 126 guerrillas were active. This does not include the 210 who lost their lives in Operation Super. These were clearly also poised to move into Kaokoland.

A month ago, two platoons of Battalion 32 launched a devastating surprise attack on a new forward base set up by Swapo as Cambeno, 22 km north of the Cunene.

In Kaokoveld, 7 incidents involving guerrillas were recorded by Security Forces last month alone. In response, new bases are being built in the region to counter the new offensive. At the same time, Police sources have indicated that it has left them understaffed.

Meanwhile, enquiries revealed that the grisly practice of displaying the

bodies of dead guerrillas continues in Kaokoland. Police sources at Opuwo confirmed that killed guerrillas were displayed at the Police camp, and said this had been done "because the local population requested it."

According to the source, the local population had repeatedly asked that this be done "so as to make the war more real" for the people. The Police had given in to the request in the end, also because emotions could not be agitated by the practice, "because they belong to a different tribe", the source claimed.

The Army, which used to take dead guerrillas around town to display them, stopped the practice some time ago. It was found to be counterproductive, since it agitated people's emotions.

The source also said that nobody was forced to look at the bodies, since they were displayed out of town at the Police camp.

CSO: 4700/1204



SECRECY SURROUNDING MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT CHANGES LASHED

Windhoek THE WINDHOEK ADVERTISER in English 30 Apr 82 p 1

[Editorial]

[Text] **THE** crisis over third tier government in Namibia has been suspended above our heads for many years now.

The process of constitutional reform set loose with the Turnhalle Conference has steadily brought the day nearer when policy decisions and changes would have to be effected in our municipal government system.

One can hardly debate the merits and demerits of the famous Arnold Commission's findings fruitfully until that document is made public.

The fact that a crisis has developed threatening open confrontation amongst the various instances involved, can be ascribed to at least two things:

- an unending official silence which keeps the public in the dark and

- the lack of any clearly worked out policy of reform and programme of transition linked to it.

At the root of it all lies the question of municipal franchise and the devolution of political power through municipal government.

This central question staring us in the face must first be answered before any progress can be made.

Secret commissions and procrastinating silences are only making it worse.

In a democratic society which the rulers purport ours to be, vital issues such as these must be openly and publicly debated.

The dragging out of the local government question is simply the logical outflow of the lack of clear direction in a number of national questions facing the Central Government.

CSO: 4700/1204

NEGOTIATIONS IMPASSE STYMIES LOCAL LEADERS

Windhoek THE WINDHOEK ADVERTISER in English 6 May 82 p 2

[Text]

**LATEST** developments in the SWA independence dispute have raised the question in Windhoek: "What will be the West's next move?"

Swapo's rejection of a Western-drafted election formula for a settlement and suggestions for a new negotiating process to win independence have been received with varied response by political leaders in the Territory's capital.

"Swapo's rejection of Phase One did not come as a surprise," said the leader of the Swapo-Democrats, Mr Andreas Shipanga.

"But we are taken aback by the support given by the Frontline states," he added.

It was thought earlier that members of the African Frontline states concerned with the SWA dispute would influence Swapo to accept Phase One of the West's three-stage initiative.

The hopes were dashed at a meeting in Dar Es Salaam on Tuesday when Foreign Ministers of the Frontline states gave their

backing to Swapo's stance on the Phase One proposal by the Western Contact Group.

The five-nation Contact Group had suggested a "one vote counted twice" system for the election of a constitution-drafting assembly in the Territory.

The proposal had been accepted by South Africa, but Swapo's consistent rejection of the formula has now produced a stalemate situation.

The acting Chairman of the SWA Ministers' Council, Dr Ben Africa, said that undertakings had been given by the West at the outset of its initiative, that no interested party would be allowed to veto any stage of the three-part plan.

He urged the west to go on to Phase Two of the peace negotiations and not to be dictated to by Swapo.

At the same time, political sources in Windhoek have reported that undertakings were similarly given that the Contact Group would not move to Phase Two of its settlement effort until outstanding issues in Phase One had been concluded.

Political observers in Windhoek pointed out that the West now faced the ex-

remely difficult decision of having either to go back to South Africa to renegotiate the terms of the electoral procedure — a move that would be seen as pandering to Swapo's demands — or to pass over the objections by Swapo and the Frontline states, and carry on with Phase Two negotiations.

If further efforts to persuade Swapo should fail, a third alternative was the holding of a multi-party conference to resolve the outstanding issues.

Swapo, supported by the Frontline states, had suggested the shelving of the phase-to-phase negotiating process. Instead, the movement called for an "international conference" to be convened as "a viable alternative way out of the present stalemate."

In Windhoek, the concept encountered mixed political reception.

"We do not see the possibility of a possible outcome at such a conference," said Mr Shipanga.

"We are against it, because we know it will not work."

Mr Shipanga said no political movement or government should be allowed to veto the independence process of the Territory.

Swapo's refusal to accept the first stage of the peace effort was "a tragedy because of the civilian loss of lives here and elsewhere."

He added that Swapo's "professed difficulties with the one man two vote system are not the true reasons for the rejections. It is just fear to get into an election."

The leader of the SWA National Party, Mr Kosie Pretorius, earlier said a one man, one vote election should be discarded as an instrument to a negotiated settlement.

New alternatives had to be explored and the SWA NP was in favour of seeking agreement on the constitutional future among elected and traditionally accepted leaders.

Mr Pretorius said his party did not view the holding of a multi-party conference as the best method to resolve outstanding differences. — Sapa

# LOCAL LEADERS IMPATIENT AT STALLED TALKS

Windhoek THE WINDHOEK ADVERTISER in English 28 Apr 82 p 2

[Text] **POLITICAL** leaders approached in Windhoek have expressed concern at the lack of movement in the Western settlement initiative on SWA and predicted serious consequences unless the present deadlock was broken soon.

"We are in a hurry, we want to get on with the job," said the leader of the Swapo Democrats, Mr Andreas Shipanga.

The Western diplomatic effort to bring independence to the territory has fallen almost four months behind a loosely-framed time scale for completion of the three-stage initiative.

Phase One, dealing with constitutional proposals, has reached an impasse after South Africa's agreement was obtained and resistance encountered from Swapo, backed by the African frontline states, to a proposed twin election procedure.

Swapo has argued that the combined proportional and constituency representation in a constitution-

making body would prove too complex for the relatively inexperienced electorate of SWA.

The first phase was designed as a confidence-building measure and it had been generally acknowledged that phase two, dealing with issues concerning the supervisory capacity of the united nations, was most likely to produce problems.

"I would have expected the initiative to falter on questions in Phase Two, and not at this early stage," Mr Shipanga said.

The leader of the Federal Party, Mr Bryan O' Linn, said: "It is absurd that there should be a stalemate at this point."

Most political parties would not oppose substitution of the present electoral proposals by straight proportional representation in the constituent assembly, he added.

Mr Shipanga said parties to the dispute had to bear in mind that no proposal could be perfect when hammered out among so many parties.

Unless the present deadlock was resolved soon, the Western effort could head for collapse with disastrous consequences for all concerned in southern Africa.

"This thing can escalate into something most unpleasant for everyone living not only in Namibia but the entire sub-continent," Mr Shipanga said.

Mr O' Linn said his party believed there was still hope the West would somehow break the impasse.

"I do not think South Africa and the West, and Swapo, can afford to let the matter come to a dead end," he said.

Both political leaders, as well as a spokesman for the Namibian Independence Party, said they had already replied to revised Phase One proposals when representatives of the Western Contact Group visited Windhoek last month.

The possibility was not excluded that political leaders could still be summoned by the Administrator-General of SWA to sound out latest political opinion of Phase One proposals.

The outcome of such meetings could be used by South Africa to formulate its attitude, a political source said.

# COUNCILLORS DIVIDED ON MUNICIPAL ISSUE

Windhoek THE WINDHOEK ADVERTISER in English 29 Apr 82 p 3

[Text]

**IN A dramatic turnabout yesterday, the City Council decided to opt for negotiation rather than confrontation with the Ministers' Council.**

After a stormy debate lasting over an hour and which had the Council split down the middle, it was decided to drop the motion under discussion and move on to the next point on the agenda.

The strongly-worded motion under discussion called on the AG not to approve the takeover of municipalities by the Ministers' Council, and called for steps to be taken to implement the recommendations of the Arnold Commission. It also demanded that the status quo be maintained and that municipalities remain under the White second-tier Authority.

Mr Fanie Spies, Chairman of the Management Committee proposed a motion that the matter be dropped and that the Council move on to the next point on the agenda.

Mr J H Greeff, proposer of the original motion, objected violently, saying it was "undemocratic" and "unfair" to attempt to prevent other councillors from speaking.

Mr Spies pointed out, however, that if members were keen to carry on with the debate, they could simply vote against the order motion, and then the debate would continue.

## ELECTRIC

The atmosphere was electric as the votes were counted. The final tally was three to six in favour of dropping the matter. Mr Günther Kashick abstained from voting.

However, the tension was clearly not over, and erupted again when a disappointed Mr Greeff commented under his breath: "Is this how you represent your voters? What a shame!" Mr Spies rose immediately to object to Mr Greeff making "snide remarks," and appealed to Mr Beukes to call him to order.

Mr Beukes ruled that Mr Greeff should in future say things more diplomatically, which brought another objection from Mr Koos Nel. The last word, however, was spoken by Dr A B May, who told Mr Greeff: "When I was already a councillor, you were still playing with marbles."

Earlier, Mr Greeff had quoted extensively from newspaper reports and other documents in motivating his motion. He dealt in detail with the

municipal swimming pool, since "the whole matter seems to centre on the swimming pool."

Citing figures, he said the Municipality was experiencing heavy losses because of the swimming pool.

"If this takeover is about the swimming pool, then I say to the Ministers' Council take it, take the pool from the Municipality with all its losses," he said.

## DISCORD

"If Messrs Africa and Riruako want to do their work, then they can concern themselves with the project to build a pool in Katutura. But no, the other one has to be forced open, discord has to be sown and the peace existing at the moment has to be disturbed."

He also claimed that the motivation for the takeover was "purely political, without any regard to the interests of the taxpayer." Few officials would go to the first tier if it took over the functions so far taken care of the White Administration, and the quality of municipal government would suffer.

Dr May, in opposing the motion called it "useless". He said approval for the takeover had already been given.

"The status quo cannot be maintained, because other decisions have already been taken."

Mr Spies also spoke in opposition to the motion, before proposing that the matter be dropped. He said he was opposed to any kind of outside control of municipal affairs.

"If the motion had aimed at the removal of control, then I would have seconded it. But as it stands, I cannot support it."

He said he could see the "other side", he could understand that "Black and Brown politicians are not prepared to accept continued control by Whites." On the implementation of the Arnold Commission, he said "to demand immediate decisions can only lead to rejection. We have to convince the Ministers' Council of the merits of the system proposed by the Arnold Commission, even if it takes a while."

"To make demands now could close doors to us that should not be closed. We have to talk and talk as long as we can." At this point he proposed that the matter be dropped. The original motion of Mr Greeff's was seconded by Col M J van Taak, who did not speak, however.

# LIMOUSINE STORY SAID TO DAMAGE COUNCIL'S IMAGE

Windhoek THE WINDHOEK ADVERTISER in English 29 Apr 82 p 2

[Text]

**THE Ministers' Council has issued a press statement expressing its concern about the dissatisfaction unchained by an article in the Windhoek Observer last Saturday, concerning the alleged ordering of eight luxury limousines by the Council.**

"This report is devoid of all truth", the statement, signed by Dr Ben Africa, says.

The statement, which was issued yesterday, adds: "Seeing that the report appeared at a time when the country is experiencing serious economic problems, the Ministers' Council wishes to register its serious objections to the placement of the report.

"The image of the Ministers' Council can be done irreparable harm through reporting which creates the impression that it acts in a reckless and irresponsible manner with public money."

The statement goes on to give the assurance that the utilisation of public funds is being done with utmost responsibility.

It concludes by calling upon all Government bodies, including second-tier authorities, to exercise the necessary discipline regarding State funds.

This appeal was repeated yesterday by Dr Africa during a lengthy meeting between the Windhoek Observer's Editor Mr Hannes "Smithy" Smith, and members of the Ministers' Council who were accompanied by senior members of the Department of Finance.

Secretary of Finance, Dr Johan Jones said during the meeting that the Central Government had no control over the allocation of State funds by the ethnic authorities.

It has been learned that the Owambo second-tier authority had placed an order for the eight Mercedes Benzes. A report to this effect was carried in the official DTA organ Die Republikein earlier this week.

Dr Jones also said it was not possible to discern whether purchases by an ethnic authority were made from its own revenue or from funds allocated to it by the Central Government as part of its share in the national estimates of expenditure.

Commenting on the meeting, Mr Smith told The Advertiser late yesterday afternoon that he was wrong in saying that the cars would go to the Ministers' Council.

"But this does not alter the fact that Government money is being used for luxury cars, which is not a priority at a time of financial starvation."

Mr Smith described the meeting as "off-the cuff" and "to the point".

# CUTBACK IN BUILDING PROJECTS INCREASES UNEMPLOYMENT

Windhoek THE WINDHOEK ADVERTISER in English 5 May 82 pp 1, 3

[Article by Franz Krueger]

[Text]

## THOUSANDS of workers will join the ranks of Namibia's unemployed because of the State cutback on building projects.

At present, conservative estimates put the unemployment figure in the territory at 75 000. A snap survey this week revealed that thousands of construction workers will lose their jobs in the next few months, unless the Government resumes its building programme. Hardest hit will be unskilled workers.

The Advertiser spoke to a number of the larger firms involved in the building industry, and discovered that well over a thousand workers are expected to be retrenched in a few months time when current contracts are completed. However, some of the larger firms such as LTA and Murray and Stewart would not reveal figures, and smaller firms were not surveyed, so the total could run into the thousands.

Meanwhile, organisations within the industry are engaged on surveys to determine the extent of the problem.

Mr Bill Nelson, Secretary of the Federation of Civil Engineering Contractors of SWA, confirmed that the Federation was engaged in a survey to determine the likely extent of layoffs, which would be discussed at a meeting of the Federation early next week.

In a parallel move, the Master Builders and Allied Trades Association is engaged in a similar survey. This was confirmed by Mr Peter von Hase, a member of the Association's Executive. He also said negotiations with the Government were continuing "with a view to gain clarity in the issue and hopefully attain some sort of improvement to the situation."

The Advertiser also spoke to Mr David Vermeulen, General Manager of Herma Brothers, and asked him whether he could confirm a



report that 540 workers were to be laid off by the company by June. He said the figure was "not correct", but that "hundreds of people" had been laid off already.

"We have completed our current contract, the road between Otjiwarongo and Okakarara, and we have no work at present." He added the situation was "critical, most critical."

A spokesperson for Levon Construction said ~~that about 500 people~~ would be laid off when the company's current contract at Ruacana was completed. This would be towards the end of September.

Mr A Williams, GM of Supercola said the company was engaged in working on longterm contracts, but that about 50 percent of the firm's staff would have to be retrenched in June. Supercola is a manufacturer of pipes. He would not say how many workers would be affected, but there have been unconfirmed reports that about 200 workers stand to be retrenched.

Mr E E Ferger, of Lafrenz Holdings, said his company had applied for

two contracts, one at Gobabis and one for the construction of a railwayline near Mariental.

"If we are awarded these contracts, we are all right.

If not, we will have to lay about 200 people in about a month's time," he said.

Attempts to reach Mr Dale Norton, of Murray and Stewart, were not successful. The Advertiser was informed he was "not taking any calls, particularly no calls about the building stop." It was impossible to obtain information on the situation at LTA, since a company spokesman referred the Advertiser to the survey being conducted by the Master Builders Association.

Reliable industry sources have indicated that companies are seeking contracts in South Africa, because of the poor prospects in Namibia. The development follows an announcement by the Ministers' Council that all building projects still in the planning stages are to be frozen because of lack of funds.

Current projects are to be continued with, and the effect of the building stop on the industry is therefore slightly delayed.

CSO: 4700/1214

## DROUGHT-STRICKEN KAOKOVELD NEEDS MORE AID

Windhoek THE WINDHOEK ADVERTISER in English 29 Apr 82 pp 6-7

[Text] **LACK OF funds is delaying long term aid to the drought-stricken areas of the Kaokoveld.**

The population of the area needs long-term assistance to recover from the drought, even though good rains have fallen this season. This year, about 250 mm of rain fell at Opuwo, and the whole area is lush and green.

Nevertheless, problems persist, chiefly because the cattle in the area have severely declined in numbers. The area's economy rests on cattle, and this decline has caused serious problems.

According to Mr Ben van Zyl, Secretary of the Herero Administration, stock numbers have declined to about a third of what they were before the drought.

"There were about 120 000 head of cattle in the area in 1980, and at a conservative estimate there are now only between 40 and 45 000 left. He also said a third of the small-stock had died.

Other experts have put the figure even lower, saying that only about 12 per cent of the original herd is left in the area. Accurate figures are difficult to come by, because of the lack of veterinary services in the

area. Local officials expressed the need for an accurate count of existing stock.

According to Mr Kaimbire Tjamuaha, Chairman of the Herero Executive, his government had applied for about R2 million to buy cattle to restock the area. This would be enough to provide each family with five head of cattle.

**PESSIMISTIC**

But officials seemed pessimistic about whether the request would be granted, because of the lack of funds.

"There is no money for extra expenses. There is only enough for the running costs of the administration", Mr Tjamuaha said.

Asked what had been done with drought aid granted in the administration's last budget, Mr Tjamuaha said it had been used to buy farms for the benefit of people in other drought-stricken areas of the country.

"It is impossible to buy farms for the people of Kaokoland, however, because of veterinary regulations." These prevent stock from the area from being transported across the Red Line, because of the prevalence of stock disease in the northern areas.

Mr Tjamuaha said the Administration had established an aid programme for people wanting to sell off existing stock. A feeding station had been set up at Opuwo, and people could bring cattle there for fattening up at the Administration's expense.

The cattle was then transported to Oshakati for sale on the market there, also at the expense of the Administration. Observers have noted, however, that only those people living close to Opuwo have been able to take advantage of the scheme.

The R2 million of drought aid in the budget had been used to buy a total of 16 farms, in the Otjiwarongo, Otjimbingwe and Gobabis areas. People in other drought-stricken areas of Hereroland were able to move their stock to these farms to make use of the grazing there.

**PROBLEM AREAS**

Another big problem in Kaokoland has been the lack of medical services. There is only one hospital serving the entire region, the State Hospital at Opuwo, which has two clinics at other posts. The hospital, however, is experiencing a serious shortage of staff, and has to rely entirely on national servicemen as doctors.

At the same time, the coming of the rains has led to an increase in diseases such as malaria and gastro-enteritis amongst people already weakened through lack of food.

Attempts to train local people in basic medical skills and post them out to outlying areas had to be abandoned because of the escalating war in the area. As a result, most people out of reach of the hospital or its clinics are without any medical care at all.

Another great need is for technical services. For the beginning, a veterinary and agricultural survey of the

region is urgently needed, on which the provision of assistance and advice could be based. But the distances involved make this a huge and costly undertaking, a project unlikely to be taken up in these times of scarce funds. Even by Namibian standards, Kaokoland is vast and sparsely populated.

Nevertheless, short-term aid seems to be assured for the people of the area. There is enough money for food for the near future, but problems may arise later on in the year.

"For the moment we have the situation under control", said Mr Van Zyl. "We have been able to feed the people well, also with the help of the Red Cross and other donations, but we don't know what the position will be in August or September."

# PASTOR URGES SOCIETAL CHANGE

Windhoek THE WINDHOEK ADVERTISER in English 4 May 82 p 11

[Excerpt]

**"DEAR TEACHERS, your task is hopeless unless society is changed, because society cancels everything you do."**

This was said last night in Rehoboth by Pastor Z Kameta, Vice-Präses of the Evangelical Lutheran Church. He was addressing about 250 people in the Community Hall at Rehoboth on "Education and the child". The occasion was the opening of the cultural week organised by the Rehoboth High School.

"As teachers and parents we have to stand together to remove all these stumbling blocks in society", Pastor Kameta said.

During question time, he said: "The SA Government and its allies are busy contributing to the downfall of the Black people in this country, in education, society, the economy and even in the church."

In his talk, Pastor Kameta sought to find the

reason for the "retrogression of the youth" by tracing the influences which shaped the child. He said parents and teachers should look for the reasons for the youth being what it is.

God, the family, the school and society all helped to educate the child, he said.

Society was an important influence on the child, and "the society we live in is a society based on colour, where you are only a person once you have a certain skin colour. The child goes into a society that is schizophrenic, where some people are regarded as miscreations"

Pastor Kameta said parents and teachers had the duty to work hard at removing these ugly things in society.

"You can't close your eyes to the injustice which grows by the day in the world and particularly in this society. If we talk of the youth of tomorrow we

must begin to prepare that tomorrow."

Also addressing the meeting was Mr Keith Gottschalk, a lecturer in African Studies at UCT.

Speaking on the history of Namibia, Mr Gottschalk said the mandate given SA to rule Namibia had failed to protect the indigenous people of the country.

"The mandate was supposed to protect the indigenous people from the disadvantages of colonialism", he said. "In the case of Namibia, General Smuts and the SA Government was allowed to write the mandate that was designed to protect the people from General Smuts."

## NOT HAPPY

Only in Palestine and Namibia were settlers allowed to buy land in mandated territories, he said, "and in neither case was it a happy experience for the indigenous people."

In Namibia, half of the land had been given to

3000 settler estates, a quarter of the land to wild animals and a quarter to 300000 Namibians.

"South Africa also imposed on Namibia a carbon copy of SA racist and other laws", he added.

Mr Gottschalk said this had been the main reason for resistance to SA developing among Namibians.

"The government tried to suppress the rise of Namibian opposition, by instituting neo tribalism. As this failed, it moved from the Odendaal to the Turnhall plan."

It had set up the DTA to become an opposition to Swapo, while suppressing that organisation. The DTA was something of a prototype for what the President's Council could become in SA, he claimed.

BRIEFS

IMPROVED FACILITIES AT WALVIS HARBOUR--Work is progressing with the reconstruction of the Hofmeyr Quay at the Walvis Bay Harbour which will allow for the dredging of the channel next to the wharf down to 12,8m. The present depth of the channel is only 10 meter. The 7,5 million project on berths Number One, Two and Three comprises the renewal of the concrete deck over the quay. When completed, the deck will reach six metres out from the quay and the greater depth will allow for the average size container ships to come alongside. At present cargo for Walvis Bay is handled by the Ro-Ro Ships and specially designed coasters--and transferred at Cape Town harbour. The work is expected to take another 24 months to complete. [Text]  
[Windhoek THE WINDHOEK ADVERTISER in English 13 May 82 p 3]

CSO: 4700/1228

# REASONS FOR INCREASE IN PRICE OF BREAD NOTED

Dakar LE SOLEIL in French 11 Mar 82 p 5

[Article by J. A. B.]

[Excerpts] The price of bread has risen since Monday. The price of a small loaf has risen from 60 to 70 francs and that of a large loaf from 90 to 110 francs. This increase has been expected since January following the increase in international wheat prices. The subsequent reduction of the wheat subsidy rate in the Common Market countries thus could only have adverse effects in Senegal, since almost all our imports come from the 10 EEC countries. But these factors alone do not explain the increase. Domestic freight rates have also risen. Customs duties for wheat rose from 0 percent in 1980 to 15 percent at the present time. To this must be added the increase in production costs (wages, energy, bags, maintenance equipment, etc.).

The consequences of all these factors were thus the cause of the 42-percent increase in the cost of bakery flour. In the case of the bread itself, there has also been an adjustment of the costs of other raw materials involved in making bread (yeast, salt, etc.).

However, it must be remembered that wheat is subject to price adjustments, which have been nil for several years. Each year, the Office of Price Adjustment and Stabilization has paid out nearly 1 billion francs to subsidize this grain. So that this price adjustment did not become oppressive, the government was forced to accept this increase as part of the economic and financial recovery plan.

These new prices also apply to Cape Verde. In the case of other regions, prices will have to take into account transportation costs. In other words, they will be slightly higher than those for Cape Verde. However, any new price will be duly recorded by Economic Control.

A few years ago, the increase in bread prices was comparable to that which has just occurred. But due to the slump in sales (according to some people), bakers had to lower their prices. The representative of the bakery owners' association, Mr Sidibe, stated during a meeting at the governor's office that it was the "underground" bakers (those who don't pay taxes) who were the cause of "that so-called reduction." For in his opinion, it was not a matter of lowering prices. It was actually the weight of the bread which was reduced and not the price. During the meeting, Mr Sidibe complained bitterly of "underground" bakers.

According to him, the members of the bakery owners' association were penalized because they paid a lot of taxes. He estimated that even now, many law-abiding bakers were having serious problems. He said he was therefore in favor of the increase in bread prices. In other words, some bakers may well have to close their shops. According to a bakery owner with whom we met, law-abiding bakers will continue to have serious problems even with this increase.

With the new price of wheat bread, the matter of millet-wheat bread is again a prominent issue. It appears that Senegal has no alternative except to encourage the consumption of millet-wheat bread. Until now, millet-wheat bread has had nothing but problems because of eating habits and the unwillingness of some people. Perhaps with this increase, Senegalese will understand that it is possible to change their eating habits. Would a significant difference in price (between wheat and millet-wheat bread) be the right solution?

11915

CSO: 4719/697



SOLAR POWERED DISPENSARY OPENED

Dakar LE SOLEIL in French 9 Mar 82 p 8

[Excerpts] Thies (APS [Senegalese Press Agency])--The minister of public health, Mr Mamadou Diop, officially opened the first solar-powered dispensary at Mont-Rolland, in the Thies region, in the presence of the state secretary for scientific and technical research, Mr Jacques Diouf.

The minister and his retinue were welcomed by the region's governor, Mr Tidiane Ly, who was accompanied by regional health officials, and by the residents of Mont-Rolland, which is located about 12 km from Thies in the district of Pampal, in the department of Tivaouane.

The project, whose total cost is 7 million CFA francs, was financed by the French Solar Energy Commission and built by the "Leroy Somer West Africa" Company in cooperation with the Center for Studies and Research on Renewable Energy Sources (CEREER). Operating entirely by means of a photovoltaic cell which receives solar radiation and channels it into an electric transformer, its equipment includes a 200-liter refrigerator with reinforced insulation, a ventilator for the treatment room, 15 light fixtures and 2 sets of batteries for storing electric power.

A large delegation representing the French agency, the operation's project director, participated in the public reception held by Mont-Rolland residents, who, through their representatives, expressed their satisfaction with this dispensary, which will be electrically self-sufficient and the only one of its kind in Senegal and West Africa.

As the minister of public health noted in his speech, the use of solar energy in rural health units will really constitute an important feature of our policy for developing the health care sector, since it will substantially reduce the operating costs of health units.

According to the minister, the government's efforts, which consist of providing our cities and especially our rural areas with health care infrastructures, will be better perceived by our people as a result of this possibility, which will make it possible for solar energy to be used in most basic units in the near future.

Mr Mamadou Diop added that Senegal has great solar energy potential, which is why this project's continuation will, in the intermediate and long term, make it possible to reduce our oil bill, which is seriously hurting our balance of trade.

11915

CSO: 4719/697

STRENGTHENING LINKS WITH PROGRESSIVE STATES REPORTED

Victoria NATION in English 26 Apr 82 pp 1, 2

[Text] Back in Seychelles after a brief working visit in the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, the Minister of Youth and Defence, Mr. Ogilvy Berlouis, has expressed satisfaction with the result of his talks in Tripoli.

Mr Berlouis returned yesterday morning after a series of talks with the Commander of the Armed Forces of Libya, Mr. Younes Jabel, on topics of mutual interest to the two countries.

Minister Berlouis was met on arrival at the International Airport by representatives of the Defence Council and the Secretary of the Libyan People's Bureau in Victoria, Mr. Habib Deeb.

Also returning yesterday was the Minister of Labour and Social Security, Mr Philibert Loizeau, from a three-nation tour which took him to Zimbabwe, India and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

Minister Loizeau left Seychelles early this month for Zimbabwe to attend the Organisation of African Unity's sixth ministerial labour conference in Salisbury. He then flew to the Indian capital of New Delhi for a three-day international conference on the Juche idea--the guiding ideological force promoting self-reliance in the success of the socialist revolution of the DPRK.

In Pyongyang, the Korean capital to which he flew from New Delhi, Minister Loizeau was one of the guests at the 70th birthday celebrations of President Kim Il Sung.

Mr Loizeau had a meeting with the Korean leader and some of his ministers and also made contact with many of the large number of progressive militants present at the celebrations.

Minister Loizeau is one more Seychellois who has returned from Korea with great impressions of a hard-working and happy society.

CSO: 4700/1202

VICE-PRESIDENT'S CHINA VISIT CALLED FRUITFUL

Mogadishu HEEGAN in English 23 Apr 82 p 2

[Editorial: "Fruitful Visit"]

[Text] Vice-President Hussein Kulmie Afrah is in China on an official visit. He has held talks with Chinese Government officials, including the Prime Minister and the Vice-Premier, on bilateral relations and international issues. Held in an atmosphere of cordiality and mutual understanding. There is no doubt that the discussions between the officials of the two countries will bear fruit.

The Somali Democratic Republic and the People's Republic of China have long-standing and many-sided relation which have been developing over the years, particularly since the birth of our revolution. It is no exaggeration to say that a full-pledged Somali Embassy in Peking has come into existence only after the October Revolution. For its part, China has contributed to the strengthening of the existing ties at both the diplomatic and economic level, extending her aid to the Somali people without any strings. Just a couple of days ago the Chinese Government gave a gift of musical instruments to the General Federation of Trade Unions.

The SDR and PRC have many things in common. Both countries and People have suffered at the hands of colonialism and now dedicated to building a state free of exploitation in which their nations can live in full

political and economic freedom fully enjoying the benefits of social justice. In the international arena they both strive for the right of self-determination for people still fighting to achieve it. They also work for peaceful co-existence among all nations of the world, and they therefore loathe hegemonism and imperialism. It was in this context that Vice-president Kulmiye and the Chinese government officials reviewed conditions in the present world and especially the Horn issue.

we look forward to still better relations between the Somali and Chinese peoples, May they live in freedom and prosperity.

CSO: 4700/1205

## SOMALIA

### KUWAIT DAILY INTERVIEWS FOREIGN MINISTER

GF071640 Kuwait AL-SIYASAH in Arabic 6 May 82 p 2

[Excerpts] Somali Foreign Minister Abdurahman Jama Barre has stressed that the Gulf region states play an honest and important role in restoring Arab solidarity and resolving crises and disagreements that are now threatening Arab security.

In a statement to AL-SIYASAH prior to his departure from Kuwait the day before yesterday, the Somali foreign minister said that the strategic position of the Gulf region and its closeness to events and threats encircling the Arab world and its comprehension of the questions of Arab-Israeli, African and international conflicts endows it with a distinct role in the achievement of Arab and international stability in these regions which are considered the most tense regions of the world, the Middle East, the Indian Ocean and the Horn of Africa. He added that by virtue of his country's interest in this Gulf role, President Siad Barre has maintained continuous contacts and consultations with the leaders of the Gulf states in order to brief them on the development of events in the regions of the Horn of Africa and the Red Sea, exchange opinions with them on the various issues of interest to Arab solidarity and discuss the best means to resolve Arab disputes and the crises the region is experiencing and suffering.

The Somali minister indicated that this was the main goal of the messages he is delivering to the leaders of the Gulf states which, in addition, deal with the means to bolster bilateral relations and review issues which are of mutual interest.

When asked about reports that the Somali president's visit to the United States has failed, Mr Abdurahman Jama denied these predictions and said that the visit was completely successful. He said that President Siad Barre explained to President Reagan the stand of Somalia on developments in the Horn of Africa and the necessity to increase economic cooperation between the two countries.

Talking about the nature of the military relationship between Somalia and the United States, the Somali foreign minister said there is an economic and technical cooperation treaty between the two countries, and that it is within



the framework of this treaty that the United States offers some military assistance to Somalia. He said that following the Somali president's visit to the United States, Washington agreed to increase this assistance noticeably.

Talking about the Somali-Soviet relationship, the foreign minister said relations are ordinary but do not grow. He said that the exchange of trade is almost frozen.

Asked whether Somali-Soviet relations are expected to return to what they were prior to the stage of discord in view of reports that the United States may restore relations with Ethiopia, the Somali foreign minister said that Somali always looks after its national and patriotic interests and the interests of its people and the peoples of the region.

Asked about the most important threats to Somali security at the present time, the Somali minister said that the problem of the Horn of Africa seems to be the most important issue in view of its threat to the Somali national security. He explained: "We have now before us foreign forces from the Warsaw Pact. These forces reinforce the Ethiopian and Cuban forces. Thus, we are continuously being threatened and our people are subject to daily threats of being killed by these forces."

He added that Somalia does not trespass the limits of its rights when it calls for and demands the right to self-determination for the people of western Somalia (Ogaden) and the right to self-determination for the Eritrean people in order to rescue them from the fist of Ethiopian expansion in the region.

CSO: 4704/16

MOGADISHU RADIO ON MOSCOW'S 'CHEAP, BASELESS PROPAGANDA'

EA302136 Mogadishu Domestic Service in Somali 1115 GMT 30 Apr 82

[Commentary by 'Abd al-Rahman Fidow Abdi]

[Text] Since the Somali Democratic Republic announced on 13 November 1977 its historic decision to review the political relationship between the USSR and Somalia, the Somali section of Radio Moscow has been spreading cheap and baseless propaganda about Somalia. The latest example of such propaganda about the situation in and policies of the Somali Democratic Republic was broadcast by Radio Moscow on 22 April at 1900 and alleged that the situation in northern Somalia is unstable and that refugees in Somalia have returned to Ethiopia.

Cheap propaganda and fabrications by the Soviet media about Somalia will not pressure it into changing its just policy of giving moral and material support to people struggling for their legitimate right to self-determination. Somalia's policy on liberation movements was an international basis: the principles of the UN Charter, the nonaligned movement, Islamic organizations, the Arab League and the OAU.

The Soviet policy of naked provocation and expansionism has recently been observed with interest by the rest of the world. Ever since the naked aggression by the USSR in the Horn of Africa, Kampuchea, Afghanistan and Central America, the world has been taking a keen interest in the Kremlin's expansionist policy. The Somali people are united behind their leaders and vigilant in the defense of their hard-won sovereignty and independence.

Continued baseless fabrications by the Moscow media, the most recent being Radio Moscow's report of 22 April claiming that northern Somalia is unstable and that refugees in Somalia have returned to Ethiopia are clear evidence of Moscow's plan to deceive world opinion. The plain truth is that northern Somalia is the least unstable of our regions; the situation there is normal and furthermore, no refugees have gone back to Ethiopia. They are in their camps and being cared for by the Somali Government and representatives of the international relief organizations. The problems that forced the refugees to leave their homelands still persist.

(KAMPRI), the self-styled news agency which quotes Radio Moscow, is confusing the refugee question with the movement of nomadic peoples. This deliberate confusion of two separate issues is aimed at misleading world opinion. This is why people everywhere have been wondering what benefits or advantages the Soviet media have for the Third World in general and the Horn of Africa, Kampuchea, Afghanistan and Central America in particular.

The aim of the Kremlin's expansionism is to create an empire in the Third World, and history will prove us right on this. The first step toward that goal was the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan and continued Soviet interference in the internal affairs of the countries in the Horn of Africa, Kampuchea and Central America.

If we turn to the internal affairs of the USSR itself, the world is fully aware of the grave crimes, violations of human rights and inhuman acts against the general public being committed by the Moscow regime against the Russian people.

The Soviet economy is also in a bad way because of Soviet interference in the internal affairs of Third World countries. In order to conceal the internal problems facing the leaders in the Kremlin, the media have taken to a campaign of baseless lies so as to confuse world and Soviet opinion.

The world in general and the developing countries in particular know what is going on and exercise caution in their political relations with the USSR. Furthermore, Somalia is a stable and united country where the people give their full support to their leaders and cherish peaceful cooperation with all their neighbors. Such are the basic principles of our national development.

Somalia has made its position on the Horn of Africa quite clear and will strive for a lasting peace based on the just and legitimate right to self-determination of Somali people under Abyssinian black colonial rule.

CSO: 4797/16

MILITARY FORCES REPEL ETHIOPIAN ATTACKS

EA031730 Mogadishu Domestic Service in Somali 1115 GMT 3 May 82

[Commentary by (Abdullahi Haji Fadhal)]

[Text] Provocation by Abyssinia and its backers who include the USSR, Libya and South Yemen, of whose intentions and strategies the world is aware, is aimed only at continuing the stalemate and tension in the Horn of Africa.

The Somali Air Defense Force bravely repulsed an Abyssinian air raid on (Goladey) in Hargeisa District on 30 April. On the afternoon of that day two Abyssinian war planes violated Somali air space and attacked the village, killing one innocent person and wounding 10 others.

The constant Abyssinian attacks on the Somali Democratic Republic, dictated by its backers, have in the last few years always ended in shame and humiliation for the Abyssinians on the battlefields. The large quantities of Abyssinian military equipment destroyed by the Somali army and still to be seen are a constant reminder of the attacks on the districts of Iet, (Galdogob), Dogo, Borama and (Eel Badle).

In these battles many Abyssinian soldiers were also killed. This naked aggression as seen in the attack on the village of (Goladey) shows that the Abyssinians are suffering irreparable damage at the hands of the Western Somalis, Somali Abos, Eritreans and Tigreans. The Abyssinians are being attacked on all sides and are currently meeting stiff opposition from the Eritreans, who have refused to be colonized by Mengistu.

The Mengistu regime will never win any battle against peoples fighting for a just cause and it is imperative that the forces of the unholy withdraw from these territories. The strategies of the USSR, Libya, Cuba and South Yemen are aimed at destabilizing the Horn and at distorting the truth about their actions.

Finally, any battle against an occupied territory and a colonized people always ends in victory for those fighting for their legitimate rights. Somalia has always given and will continue to give its unwavering support to such peoples and at the same time it will not forgive Abyssinia for its naked aggression against innocent Somalis.

## SOMALIA

### BRIEFS

KOREAN EXHIBITION IN MOGADISHU--Mogadishu, Thursday--The Assistant Minister for Information and National Guidance, Jaalle Khalif Musse Samater opened on Monday at the Mogadishu Exhibition Centre a 7-day long exhibition of books, photographs and hand-crafts organised by Democratic People's Republic of Korea Embassy here. On the occasion, Jaalle Khalif spoke about the achievements attained by revolutionary Korea under the leadership of Comrade Kim Il Sung. The Assistant Minister praised the friendly relation that exist between the S. D. R. and D. P. R. K. Present on the occasion were 1st Vice-Chairman of the National People's Assembly, Jaalle Omar Arteh Chalib, Assistant Minister for Agriculture Jaalle Mohamoud Abdi Nur, Foreign envoys accredited to Somalia and other honourable guests. [Text] [Mogadishu HEEGAN in English 9 Apr 82 p 2]

BRITISH AID--Mogadishu, Thursday--The British Government has recently provided substantial quantities of agro-chemicals and veterinary drugs to the Ministries of Agriculture and Livestock as part of British aid to Somalia. A statement by the British Embassy here said that a fishing and mobile caravan for the use of the Fisheries Adviser to Somalia, spareparts and a turbo alternator rotor for the Juba Sugar Project at Marerey are also part of the aid. The total sum of this aid is estimated at So.Sh. 8.8 million. [Text] [Mogadishu HEEGAN in English 9 Apr 82 p 2]

OPEC GRANT--Vienna, March 2--The Somali Democratic Republic received today a grant of US\$1.02 million from the OPEC Fund for International Development to cover its subscription to the capital of the Common Fund for Commodities. The present grant is the sixteenth of the kind to be extended by the OPEC Fund, which has approved the provision of grants totalling US\$37.16 million to the thirty-one Least Developed Countries and four other low-income countries. In addition to these grants, the OPEC Fund has approved the extension of a voluntary contribution in the amount of US\$46.4 million to the Common Fund's Second Account, which is to finance measures other than stockpiling of commodities. The Grant Agreement was signed at the Fund Headquarters in Vienna by H. E. Ambassador Abdillahi Said Osman, on behalf of the Somali Democratic Republic, and by Dr. Ibrahim F. I. Shihata, Director-General of the OPEC Fund. [Text] [Mogadishu HEEGAN in English 2 Apr 82 p 5]

NEW MOSQUE--Mogadishu, Thursday--The Director-General of the Ministry of Justice and Religious Affairs, Jaalle Abdirahman Mohamed Omar on Tuesday opened a new mosque called Masjid Al-Taqwa at Yakshit District here. The new mosque, which costed

1.480.000 So.Shs, can accommodate 800 prayers. Jaalle Omer, who delivered a brief speech at the opening ceremony, expressed his thanks to religious scholars as well as the general public who played a major role in the building of the new mosque, and added that it will play an important part in the extension of the Islamic Religion and the accomplishment of the religious duties. [Text] [Mogadishu HEEGAN in English 23 Apr 82 p 2]

IRAQI DELEGATION--An Iraqi parliamentary delegation led by Khalid 'Abd al-Hamid arrived at Mogadishu airport this afternoon for a 3-day official visit to Somalia. Mr Khalid 'Abd al-Hamid told SONNA reporters at the airport that he will deliver a special message from chairman of the Iraqi People's Assembly, Mr Naim Haddad, to the chairman of the Somali People's National Assembly, Challe Mohamed Ibrahim Ahmad, and will also hold talks with senior Somali officials on bilateral relations and how to strengthen the existing relations between Iraq and the Somali Democratic Republic. Also, this afternoon a delegation from the General Federation of Iraqi Trade Unions led by Mr (al-Anbari Kuhayl Najim) left for home after an official visit to Somalia. Mr (Anbari) told SONNA reporters at the airport that while in the Somali Democratic Republic they had held talks with senior officials from the Somali Federation of Trade Unions on how to strengthen the cooperation and ties between the Somali and Iraqi trade unions. [Excerpts] [EA021844 Mogadishu Domestic Service in Somali 1700 GMT 2 May 82]

CSO: 4797/16



SECOND BOTHA-KAUNDA MEETING LIKELY

MB100850 Johannesburg SUNDAY EXPRESS in English 9 May 82 p 9

[By Kitt Katzin]

[Text] The historic border meeting between Mr P. W. Botha and Dr Kenneth Kaunda was so successful they may meet again.

Unimpeachable sources said the meeting produced more than either side had expected--and fresh initiatives were being considered to set up further meetings.

The sources said that after their four-hour Indaba on the South African-Botswana border last week, both statesmen reacted positively to a suggestion of a second round of talks later this year.

Mr Botha and Dr Kaunda struck up a spontaneous friendship and were encouraged in this spirit to discuss wide-ranging issues with enthusiasm and on a personal level.

"Plenty of scope was initiated for further contacts--the door has been left wide open," an informed source said.

Both the South African and Zambian delegations said the extent of the talks exceeded expectations and felt that tangible results could be achieved sooner than expected.

Meanwhile, sources in Lusaka said President Kaunda had undertaken to give a detailed briefing to frontline heads of state on "practical" results that were likely to follow.

Some black leaders in Southern Africa, such as Zimbabwean Prime Minister Robert Mugabe, condemned President Kaunda for meeting Mr Botha.

But observers said it was significant that the Indaba won the blessing of the Organization of African Unity's ambassador to the United Nations, Mr Oumarou Youssoufou.

On the other hand, President Julius Nyerere of Tanzania called for the unconditional release of Nelson Mandela, the jailed African National Congress leader, and reminded President Kaunda that no leader outside South Africa could speak on behalf of blacks in South Africa.

But most black leaders are hoping that the Kaunda-Botha friendship will break the log-jam in Namibia.

And it is in this respect, said informed observers, that a second meeting was on the cards.

They said President Kaunda would convey Mr Botha's views on the subject to the front-line states.

This was the first time black Africa and South Africa have initiated "backup" discussions on the thorny issue outside the existing negotiations between SWAPO and the Western contact group.

This was seen as a significant breakthrough.

At last week's Indaba, President Kaunda is understood to have expressed himself in surprisingly moderate terms, and indicated that Zambia was ready to assist directly in trying to find a peaceful solution to the Namibian problem.

Other topics discussed included the increasing involvement of "liberation" movements and possible technical and investment programmes in the agricultural and mining fields.

CSO: 4700/1215

POLISH JOURNALIST COMMENTS ON KUANDA-BOTHA MEETING

Warsaw SZTANDAR MŁODYCH in Polish 3 May 82 p 5

[Article by Wiktor Weggi: "A Meeting With Implied Meanings"]

[Text] On the border between Botswana and the Republic of South Africa there was a meeting on Friday [30 April 1982] between the president of Zambia, Kenneth Kaunda, and the head of the government in Pretoria, Pieter Botha. As noted by the Western [press] agencies, the subject of the one-day "summit" was, primarily, the problems concerning Namibia and race discrimination in the Republic of South Africa.

The lack of further reporting, permits only the making of a hypothesis. There is no doubt that this was an event of great importance even if because of the fact that such a meeting took place at all. Zambia belongs to the group of so-called frontline states (consisting also of Angola, Mozambique, Botswana, Tanzania and Zimbabwe), which for years have been demanding a just solution of the Namibian question. Until now, the frontline states have not had direct talks with Pretoria since they do not have diplomatic relations with it [Pretoria]. Therefore, if President Kaunda agreed to meet personally with Premier Botha this can mean that perhaps either he received the agreement of the other African states for this step or else he is acting on his own.

The first variant, which seems to me the most probable, can then mean that the frontline states are prepared to enter into a certain compromise on the Namibian question with Pretoria, for it is difficult to believe that Botha has written off Namibia. On the other hand, if that is the way things are, this signifies a very dangerous evolution of events in South Africa, and, above all, departure from the assumption that the only legal representative of the Namibian nation is the Southwest African Peoples' Organization [SWAPO]. Such an approach to the problems, as a result, would be tantamount to a toning down of the demands of the frontline states with regard to Pretoria on holding universal and democratic elections under the supervision of the United Nations, and, as a result, a government of future, independent Namibia would be formed.

The second variant, which has many grounds, suggests in turn that among the frontline states a split has occurred. Though they all demand the independence of Namibia, they see this independence differently. And that view is conditioned by the political situation in each of them, as well as by their external ties. Angola would like to see an independent Namibia at its side for the danger of the aggression of the Republic of South Africa against the young republic has not vanished. Mozambique holds the same position. But Tanzania, Zimbabwe and Zambia have different calculations. Zambia is too strongly economically and politically tied to the West for it to be able to support the socialist road of development of future independent Namibia proposed by the leader of SWAPO, Sam Nujoma. What is worse, it is also to a large degree dependent economically on Pretoria and must reckon with the fact that its radicalism would result in economic countermeasures on the part of the Republic of South Africa. There is then, therefore, such an interpretation of the Kaunda-Botha meeting which assumes a certain softening of the demands of Lusaka in exchange for certain economic benefits on the part of Pretoria, all the more desirable since Zambia at present is experiencing tremendous economic difficulties.

Nevertheless, I do not believe that Kaunda betrayed the Namibian issue. This would bring him more harm than benefit. Divided by territorial disputes and different political orientations, Africa is homogeneous with regard to the problem of Namibia and racial discrimination in the Republic of South Africa. An express severance from this community of views would have to end for Zambia with its isolation from the African community, which it certainly does not desire.

CSO: 4797/18

## OPINION POLL SHOWS P. W. BOTHA STILL TOP CHOICE

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 10 May 82 p 11

[Text] **Mr P W Botha is still first choice for Prime Minister among white South Africans, while second choice is the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha.**

This is according to a recent opinion poll conducted by Marketing and Opinion Surveys.

According to the poll, Mr P W Botha is still firm favourite for the premiership with 39,3 percent support — despite the recent formation of Dr Andries Treurnicht's Conservative Party.

Mr Pik Botha is second choice with 17,1 percent, Dr Fred van Zyl Slabbert, leader of the Opposition, third with 15 percent and Dr Treurnicht fourth with 10,1 percent.

**Dr T rating**

The same question was asked in a similar opinion poll last September and then the Prime Minister received 46,9 percent support.

In the Transvaal, Dr Treurnicht's stronghold, Mr P W Botha also tops the popularity poll among Afrikaners with

34,9 support while Dr Treurnicht drew 21,3 percent.

In the Cape, the Prime Minister has the overwhelming support of 56,8 percent among Afrikaners, while Dr Treurnicht has only 6,6 percent.

**Rise**

Overall, according to the poll, Mr Pik Botha re-established himself as second favourite with his 17,1 percent. In the previous survey he received 15 percent.

Dr Fred van Zyl Slabbert also improved his position from nine to 15 percent. Dr Treurnicht advanced from 4,3 percent to 10,1 percent.

A break-up of individual support for these four political leaders among the English and Afrikaans speaking Whites is:

**English:** Mr P W Botha — 34,2 percent; Dr van Zyl Slabbert 30,2; Mr Pik Botha 14,4; Dr Treurnicht 2,1.

**Afrikaans:** Mr P W Botha — 43,1 percent; Mr Pik Botha 19; Dr

Treurnicht — 15,9; Dr van Zyl Slabbert — 30,3.

The survey also tested White opinion on the manner in which Mr P W Botha handled the suspension of Dr Treurnicht and his followers from the National Party. Here, 65,8 percent replied that he had done it good: A total of 18,2 percent said he had handled it poorly and 16 percent were undecided.

English support for the Prime Minister in this regard was 72,4 percent and the Afrikaans backing 61,1 percent.

He received most support from the Cape and Natal with 75,9 and 75,0 percent respectively.

In the Transvaal he was backed by 58,8 percent and 62,1 percent in the Free State.

There are four main contenders, according to the survey, to succeed Mr Botha as Prime Minister, with Mr Pik Botha heading the field as firm favourite with 44,4 percent. The other three contenders are Dr van Zyl Slabbert (9 percent), Mr F W de Klerk (8,1 percent) and Dr Treurnicht (7,6 percent).

'ANC RADIO' SCORES PROPOSED PRESIDENT'S COUNCIL IN COUNTRY

EA141328 Addis Ababa Radio Freedom in English to South Africa 1930 GMT 13 May 82

[ANC program]

[Text] Prominent black political and community leaders in South Africa have strongly denounced and rejected the apartheid regime's proposals of the so-called president's council.

The fundamental aim of the president's council, whose principles were clearly defined yesterday in the all-white parliament, is to consolidate political power into the hands of the white minority and give the Indian and coloured peoples direct say only at a local government level.

The proposals also totally exclude the African majorities even from that so-called direct local government level and relegate them to the puppet Bantustan administrations.

Reacting to the proposals, the general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, Bishop Desmond Tutu, said that anyone who was confused by the proposed new decisions was more gullible than he believed possible. Bishop Tutu added that the move to draw the Indian and so-called coloured people into the white (?laager) was another tactic in the divide-and-rule concept. Another leader of the people who reacted sharply to the proposal was Dr [name indistinct] (Muthano), chairman of the Soweto Committee of Ten. Dr (Muthano) expressed the hope that the people of the two groups will not be pressed into accepting the proposals of the president's council as this would lead to the breakdown of black unity.

Black unity, Dr (Muthano) said, was the only weapon against oppression, and it should not be jeopardized.

Meanwhile, the president's council has also been condemned by leaders of the coloured people themselves. Leader of the powerful Coloured Labor Party, Dr (Allen) Hendrickse, has said that the president's council can only be judged by its providing participation for the majority of the black people inside the country. And the deputy leader of the Labor Party (Norman Milton) added that the new proposals will dress the same old evil, apartheid, in a new guise. There would be no peace in southern Africa, (Norman Milton) said, until the majority of its peoples were included in any political participation at the highest level.



## RECOMMENDATIONS ON NEW CONSTITUTIONAL SYSTEM

### President's Council Hears Recommendations

MB130858 Umtata Transkei Capital Radio in English 1300 GMT 12 May 82

[Text] The first recommendations for a new political system in South Africa were tabled in the President's Council half an hour ago. The recommendations of the joint committee of planning and economics focus on local and regional government. Nigel Rench reports:

[Begin recording] The commissions' brief was to make recommendations concerning whites, Asians and people of mixed race, but it does touch on the position of blacks. The recommendations envisage a totally new system of local representation. The three race groups would be represented together on the local authorities. The maximum possible power would be given to these local bodies. The report recommends the abolition of the existing racial, management and local affairs committees, with, as an interim measure, a nominated member of these committees sitting on white local bodies. This nominee would have full voting rights.

Each region will have a metropolitan body which will decide on issues such as provision of water and electricity, which affect several local bodies. It is on this metropolitan body that the report envisages blacks as sitting in as well. It says the government's policy means blacks exercise political rights within the homelands, but it says community councils give urban blacks local power. Community council representatives would sit on the metropolitan body.

On the second tier, the committee was divided. One proposal is that the present provincial councils be abolished and that white, mixed-race and Asian people from local executive committees be appointed as central government representatives. For purposes of regional administration, the country would then be divided up into eight units: three for the Transvaal and the Cape, and one each for Natal and the Orange Free State.

The other possibility would be that the present provincial system be retained but with whites, Asians and mixed-race people being elected to the provincial council. The franchise system will be equal for each race group, excluding blacks. It's a very complicated system with up to three votes per person being possible, depending on ownership of property.

The recommendations are not final. The report will be debated in the full President's Council, and alterations can be made. The final proposals would then be submitted to the state president and will be debated in parliament. Two more reports on central government and the group areas act will be published next week.

Nigel Rensch, Capital News, Johannesburg. [End recording]

#### Proposed Government Restructuring

LD131034 Johannesburg International Service in English 0630 GMT 13 May 82

[Excerpt] The South African President's Council has recommended a comprehensive restructuring of the political structure in South Africa. The constitutional committee of the President's Council says in its first report that it proposes a complete break from the Westminster system of government which is in force in South Africa. It envisages an executive system of government with a state president at the head of the cabinet. Whites, coloreds and Asians must be involved as equals in executive authority. The system must rest on the principle that population groups have control over their own affairs.

The committee recommends that the president, at the head of the nonparliamentary executive power, should be elected by an electoral college of the legislative authority for a period of 7 years. It is recommended that the first president should be elected by the present parliament and the government is asked to find a way in which coloreds and Asians may also play a part in (this) election. On his election the president will appoint a prime minister and, after consultation with him, the members of the cabinet. The ministers would report to the legislative authority regarding their portfolios but would not belong to it or have a right to vote.

The committee has not given details of how the South African legislative authority will be composed or how it will function. This will be its next task. With regard to the legislative authority the committee says the existing organization must be changed. With the involvement of the colored and Asians in the new political dispensation it means that the basis on which groups are represented in the legislative authority will have to be widened. Again, no details have been given of how this is to be done.

The committee is of the opinion that the demands of a democracy in which the elite of the various population groups are involved in the cabinet must be met as soon as possible. For the implementation of such a system it is essential that the South African Government must make a declaration of intent because this will make the progress of change much easier. In the proposed declaration it must be stated that the envisaged dispensation will be accepted and that provision will be made for the removal of discrimination. It must also contain standpoints on the position of the black people.

As an interim measure, until the new dispensation is applied and the coloreds and Indians can take part in executive and legislative authority, it is recommended that the President's Council should deal with draft legislation (on)

matters affecting these groups. In addition, committees consisting of members of the President's Council and the House of Assembly must be appointed to deal with policy matters involved.

#### Further on President's Council Proposals

MB131423 Johannesburg RAND DAILY MAIL 13 May 82 p 1

[By John Battersby, political correspondent]

[Excerpts] The creation of an executive president with sweeping powers to appoint and dismiss the prime minister and cabinet, and to dissolve parliament, is the major recommendation among far-reaching constitutional changes proposed by the President's Council.

The constitutional committee report, released unexpectedly last night, also recommends the inclusion of coloureds and Indians in an executive cabinet and comes out in favour of a single legislature for the three race groups.

Earlier yesterday, the council set out proposals for a decentralised system of local and regional government.

A third joint report, by the planning and community relations committees of the council, endorses the principle of enforced residential separation and rejects the repeal of the group areas act "at this stage."

The report concedes, however, that this and related laws need to be reviewed and consolidated.

However, the report on local and regional government says that while ethnicity will continue to be a factor around which local government will be organized, the process of reform should not be accompanied by enforced racial separation or enforced integration.

Under the constitutional committee's proposed system, the president, who will be elected for a seven-year term of office, will appoint the prime minister and the cabinet.

The president would be eligible for re-election.

The committee said that under a non-parliamentary system, the president as chief executive "would be more easily able to control the strong divisive tendencies in South African society and at the same time gain broad support for measures of reform that would greatly improve community relations without endangering stability".

"The committee believes that a non-parliamentary executive is best suited to the needs of South Africa, since a strong president intent on reform would be able to supply a sense of basic security and thereby increase support for this reformist measures."

The committee said that "a supra-ethnic president and his cabinet provide the most effective means of accommodating the different communities, while at the same time preventing paralysis of government due to deep division or deadlock in the legislature."

The election of the executive president would have to be as broadly representative as possible of the communities involved.

And it would have to be seen as not posing a threat to the vital interests of the present dominant group, whose leaders would have to make final decisions about constitutional change, the committee said.

#### Further Comment on Council Recommendations

MB140713 Johannesburg RAND DAILY MAIL in English 13 May 82 p 6

[Text] Sharp criticism from a broad spectrum greeted the proposals tabled yesterday by the president for moderate reforms in local and regional government. [as published]

There was little support for the recommendations among civic leaders, with representatives of the Reef's black, coloured and Indian communities being particularly critical.

And two top Johannesburg city councillors expressed their disappointment with the proposals, adding that major municipalities would have to give up major portions of their meagre financial income to establish emergent local authorities.

Johannesburg management chief, Mr Francois Oberholzer, said the proposals were "most disappointing", and he believed that as they stood now, they were neither politically nor financially acceptable.

The PFP [Progressive Federal Party] leader in Johannesburg, Mr Sam Moss, said he was filled with "apprehension", and added that municipalities would have to receive guarantees that they would acquire alternative sources of revenue. This was because, in terms of the proposals, a large portion of the profits of municipal trading departments would go to the local metropolitan authority.

The chairman of Johannesburg's CBD [Central Business District] Association, Mr Nigel Mandy, was among the few to praise the recommendations.

He felt the President's Council had done an "excellent job", and he welcomed the proposals for a local multiple vote system, the formation of metropolitan authorities, and the division of responsibilities between municipalities and the metropolitan bodies.

The recommendations were "a small step in the right direction" as a basis for radical future change, the president of the Transvaal Indian and Coloured Management Association, Mr Boetie Abramjee, said.

Mr Abramjee, who is also an executive member of the SA Indian Council, said the recommendations could be a foothold in the corridors of power.

"But how much influence will be wielded by the coloured and Indian representatives in either of the two proposed schemes remains to be seen."

Dr Ntatho Motlana, chairman of the Soweto Committee of 10, said details of the proposals did not interest him.

"The basic objection to this whole exercise is that it does not come to terms with the problem--and that is how to cater for 70 percent of the population. As long as you are ignored, you are playing games," Dr Motlana said.

Dr Rashid Salojee, vice-chairman of the Transvaal Anti-South African Indian Council Committee and chairman of the Federation of Residents' Associations of Lenasia, said the proposals amounted to a "sophisticated form of racial segregation".

Overall, one cannot really see coresponsibility and power-sharing being transferred into a practical system," Dr Salojee said.

A member of Johannesburg's Coloured management Committee, Mr Ralph Peffer, dismissed the proposals and said that as long as the government maintained statutory apartheid, "there could be no reform outside the statute".

Mr Jaison Jhina, of the Johannesburg Lenasia Management Committee, said he believed the proposals would increase racial tension because the President's Council had not come up with "something worthwhile to fight and die for".

He found the proposals "totally unacceptable because the loaded vote in favour of whites" would perpetuate white domination over blacks.

The leader of the Herstigte Nasionale Party, Mr Jaap Marais, said his party rejected the proposals for the same reasons that the HNP had rejected the 1977 constitutional proposals.

"This is clear that the President's Council have chosen the road to power-sharing between white and non-white, and it is probably the beginning of a process of increasing racial mixing on a political level.

"Nowhere in the world had this sort of attempt at racial peace been successful," he said.

Mr S. Abraham Mayet, speaking in Cape Town at a motion moving acceptance of the joint report of the economic affairs and constitutional committees of the President's Council, said the proposals were not utopian, but were a good basis for negotiation.

He called on the "communities of colour" to use the proposals as a basis for further negotiation with the authorities.



Mr M Rajab, speaking at the plenary session today of the President's Council, said black people should be included with whites, coloureds and Indians in the new local and regional government system.

He said that although he had signed the report, he could not support it without qualification.

"Despite the limitations, the report is a sincere and genuine point of departure for realistic reform which could point the way for the direction in which the country should be governed," he said.

Despite the fact that the committee's assignment was restricted to whites, coloureds and Indians, the chairman, Dr Schalk van der Merwe, had adopted a "colour blind" approach.

#### 'MAIL' Comments on President's Council Proposals

MB140811 Johannesburg RAND DAILY MAIL in English 13 May 82 p 10

[Editorial: "Now--Time for Cool Thinking"]

[Text] There are immense implications--good and ominous--in the proposals for reform of central government released suddenly last night under extraordinary circumstances. They require thought and cool debate.

The avowed aim of the proposals is to bring the coloured and Asian communities into the decision-making process right up to the highest-level--the cabinet itself. That is a fundamental departure from nationalist doctrine thus far, a reversal of brutal policies this newspaper has consistently denounced and, if it were assessed in a political vacuum, a development calling for wholehearted support.

Surely no men of goodwill could or would have doubts about a move that so palpably gives a better deal to people so long deprived of it?

And yet things are not as simple as that. There is not a political vacuum in this country. There are other factors to be weighed.

Blacks are excluded from the proposed dispensation, though the President's Council report exceeds its mandate and urges that--if its plan is accepted--there should be a "statement of intention" from the government regarding their future. That certainly acknowledges that blacks need to be considered.

Will that be enough? Will urban black people be more ready to accept an existing status they have consistently rejected simply because coloureds and Asians are better off? Will they argue that it is a hopeful move for them, opening a door? There is a hint of such possible developments in the report. Or will blacks see it as a ganging-up against them?

These are questions of grave moment. They must be carefully considered, carefully answered and that is why debate is necessary.



having accepted the principle that the future cannot simply be imposed on any of South Africa's peoples, much must depend on how the people themselves react. It would obviously be disturbing if, say, a majority of whites supported the new plan, the coloured and Indian communities were divided by it and the black community was hostile to it. It is hard to see how that would advance the cause of peaceful co-existence.

At the same time we readily recognise that overnight, all-purpose miracle solutions to South Africa's problems are not exactly abundant and that successful reform will, of necessity, be a slow business and has to start somewhere.

There is another immediate anxiety: the proposed first step to reform.

This is to create an executive state president or awesome power. He would be in office for seven years. He would run the country, appoint the prime minister, control the cabinet. He would initiate legislation and have the right to dissolve the legislature if he felt the need. He could, if he wished, be little less than a dictator.

His would be the task of ensuring that the Indian and coloured communities are represented in the cabinet.

The report argues that it is necessary to arm the state president as a first step so that he can create an executive that transcends sectional interest and so that he is strong enough to implement necessary reforms.

The argument may appeal to some but we lack the necessary blind faith. There is no plan for an entrenched bill of rights; nothing except a proposed government "declaration of intent" to ensure that the executive president does what the President's Council would have him do.

We view that prospect with grave misgiving. To put it mildly.

#### Proposals for Blacks in Local Affairs

MB140815 Johannesburg RAND DAILY MAIL in English 13 May 82 p 10

[Text] Surprise recommendations for the inclusion of urban blacks into a new system of local authorities have been made by the joint economic and constitutional committee of the President's Council.

While the council was directed to seek a new constitutional dispensation for whites, coloureds and Asians, the committee says that the involvement of urban Africans in the supply of large scale services "is logical and unavoidable."

An important aspect of the committee's proposals is a recommendation for metropolitan authorities whose members will be nominated from the local authorities in the area, including blacks.

The report says: "The economic realities obtaining in the republic and the rapid process of urbanisation have, however, compelled the committee to take due note of the question of blacks outside the national states, more particularly because of the complexity of their involvement in, and their inseparability from local and regional economies."

Later it says: In formulating its proposals for reform, the committee has taken account of the carefully considered stand of the board of chairmen of administration boards."

This was that "a model for local authorities that takes the white, coloured and Asian population groups only into account without looking at the blacks in the RSA will find that the preponderance of the blacks will very soon turn this problem into a topical one".

The committee has called for a more equitable spread of finances for the provision of services in municipal areas and that there should be greater co-ordination between local authorities.

It points out that it is government policy at present to elevate existing black community councils to full municipal status.

Greater co-ordination will be supplied through the metropolitan boards in the larger city complexes.

"The co-operation of all local authorities, including blacks, with regard to large-scale services is logical and unavoidable," says the report.

"Participation by all population groups at the level of large-scale services by representatives nominated from the primary level will not adversely affect the particular interests of communities.

"The committee notes that in terms of government policy, the blacks at local government level outside of the national states will liaise with their national state units or confederal units with regard to their political rights over and above the local authority level."

Dealing with the need for metropolitan authorities, which will involve all race groups, the report says that with the industrialisation and economic development in and around the metropolitan areas largely bypassing the rest of the country, the South African economy had taken on a "dualistic character".

It accommodated modern economic characteristics and advantages at the one extreme and "Third World subsistence at the other extreme".

#### Proposals Avoid Change in Sensitive Areas

MB140820 Johannesburg RAND DAILY MAIL in English 13 May 82 p 11

[Text] The government will not have to give way on its bottom-line of separate residential areas, schools and community facilities if it accepts the President's Council report on local and regional government.

These holy cows of Afrikanerdom have been catered for in the report by an elaborate division of functions normally exercised by local authorities into "hard" and "soft" functions.

In effect this will mean that in the country's seven major urban industrial complexes, where the report recommends the establishment of metropolitan authorities, "culturally sensitive" issues will remain in the hands of the largely ethnically pure local authorities.

Only "hard" functions will be delegated to the inter-racial metropolitan authorities where nominated members of the four main race groups will meet to take decisions over matters of common interest.

In the report "soft functions" are defined as community-sensitive or culturally-sensitive services such as community halls, residential areas, schools, swimming pools, pavements, streets in suburbs, parks, playgrounds, recreation centres, libraries, and beaches.

"Hard functions", on the other hand, are defined as welfare functions and business-oriented services that can be provided on a large scale at lower unit costs.

These include such services as fire prevention, drainage, electricity, highways, streets, water supply, town planning, abattoirs, computer services, professional staff services, transportation, sewerage purification and reticulation, and the disposal of solid and toxic wastes.

While the report acknowledges the need for urgent adjustment to the present system to provide for joint decision-making between the various population groups it emphasises that account must be taken of historical institutions, inter-ethnic relations, the right to self-determination, and protection of minorities and homogenous groups. The report suggests further technical investigation to establish a precise division of functions into soft or hard, and recommends that an ad hoc working committee or permanent liaison committee could lay down guidelines for the division of such functions.

In terms of the report elected members of primary local authorities would nominate at least one representative to a metropolitan authority which would coordinate services falling into the category of "hard functions".

Services could be provided by private enterprise such as public utility companies where this could be done at a lower unit cost.

The report recommends a "flexible approach" in the allocation of soft and hard functions particularly in urban and densely-populated areas.

The number of representatives on a metropolitan authority would be determined in accordance with either the rateable value of property or the use of services.

The report emphasises that it does not envisage the establishment of metropolitan authorities as the creation of an extra tier of government.

CSO: 4700/1215

PAPER GIVES DETAILS ON BROEDERBOND REPORTS

MB170825 Johannesburg SUNDAY EXPRESS in English 17 May 82 p 21

[Excerpts] The chief of the Broederbond, Professor Carel Boshoff, conceded this week that the purpose of the secret Broederbond report--published by the SUNDAY EXPRESS last week--was to draw attention to the fact that the self-determination of whites could not be assured indefinitely on the basis of discriminatory laws.

He also admitted that the report, which condemned all major laws underpinning apartheid and called on the government to issue a "declaration of intent" to demonstrate its earnestness in moving away from racial discrimination, had been circulated to members of the secret organisation.

Commenting on the SUNDAY EXPRESS report, Prof Boshoff said he interpreted the AB document as an appeal to expedite--and not abolish--the government's homeland policy.

He said he disagreed with the SUNDAY EXPRESS interpretation that the report called for the abolition of nine major apartheid laws.

Prof Boshoff also admitted that the Broederbond had launched a careful study into the implication of any revision of these laws and that alternatives were proposed to include guarantees that whites would be able to decide on their future but did not say what they were.

Prof Boshoff said there could only be movement away from certain laws if the policy of separate development was carried to its conclusion.

Yet a second secret Broederbond document--disclosed on these pages today--has this to say about apartheid:

"The Afrikaner has not succeeded in selling the 'comprehensive apartheid concept' as a mechanism for a meaningful social and political arrangement to other population groups and the outside world."

The SUNDAY EXPRESS did not imply last week, as Prof Boshoff said, that the Broederbond had issued new directives on racial laws. It reported the findings

of a special tasks force assigned to study the question of whether legalised protections was a necessary prerequisite for the survival of the Afrikaner nation and the whites.

However, this issue was dealt with again--and in greater detail--in a second secret Broederbond report which has come into the possession of the SUNDAY EXPRESS.

Yesterday Prof Boshoff admitted this report was an AB document, that it had been circulated to AB members, and that it was part of a Broeders-bond study project.

"But it wasn't intended to be published," he said.

He was aware of the findings in the report but said they did not necessarily reflect the Broederbond's official standpoint.

He declined to disclose what the final outcome of the report was as "this information is never disclosed".

The report was compiled by a senior member of the AB, but Prof Boshoff declined to name him. It was a "voluntary" study.

He conceded the AB's all-powerful executive committee was aware of the report.

CSO: 4700/1215



## SOUTH AFRICA

### BROEDERBOND REPORT CALLS FOR HIGHER EDUCATION REFORMS

MB170818 Johannesburg SUNDAY EXPRESS in English 17 May 82 pp 20-21

[Excerpt] A secret report circulated as part of a study project by the Broederbond said Afrikaans universities should open their doors to "non-white" students.

And the report, circulated to Broeders throughout South Africa, warned that by excluding blacks from their campuses, Afrikaans universities were sacrificing "important opportunities" to influence black leaders--to the English universities.

The report, drawn up by a senior Broeder in January last year and circulated as an official Broederbond document, was entitled "The Maintenance of Particular Norms in a Multiracial Society".

It was issued with a second report on racial discrimination, drawn up by a Broederbond study group and disclosed in the SUNDAY EXPRESS last week. That report asked Broeders to comment on whether legalized protection was still necessary to ensure the survival of Afrikaners.

In January this year--a year after both Broederbond reports were circulated--Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg, then minister of education and training, disclosed some of the key recommendations of the relief committee of inquiry into higher education for urban blacks.

The recommendations, [word illegible] could completely change university education, if accepted by the government, include a proposal to allow blacks to be admitted to white universities on a quota system--not by permit as at present--and that autonomous university councils should determine their own admissions policy.

The report on education circulated by the Broederbond criticised the permit system which compels blacks to apply to the minister for authority to enroll at white universities and said blacks regarded the system as "humiliating".

Afrikaans universities could not continue withholding facilities from blacks--and the report noted that English universities had accepted a substantial number of black students since 1960.



By doing so, these universities and the prescribed language (English) used on their campuses, had exerted tremendous influence and status among black intellectuals, including many who today occupied influential positions in neighbouring states.

Afrikaans universities, by closing their doors to black, had lost an important opportunity of influencing blacks and seeking their friendship.

However, Afrikaans universities had realised that academic contact with black leaders and intellectuals served the long-term interests of Afrikaners.

CSO: 4700/1215

OPPOSITION LEADER DISCUSSES NEED FOR REFORM

MB110650 Johannesburg RAND DAILY MAIL in English 10 May 82 p 7

[Article by Dr Frederik Van Zyl Slabbert, leader of the South African Progressive Federal Party]

[Text] I hear some people say: "The PFP must help Mr P. W. Botha"; "There must be a blurring of the ideological lines in order to facilitate debate"; "For the sake of political realignment, the PFP will have to shed itself of some of its members."

This is the kind of talk I hear while moving around the country and read in the political columns of some English-language newspapers.

Last Sunday, a newspaper published the results of a survey which shows that the PFP stands to lose some of its support if the prime minister introduces reform now.

There lies the rub of course, with the word "if."

Two questions immediately arise: Firstly, whether and when the prime minister intends introducing reforms, and, secondly, what is meant by the term "reform."

Until there is clarity on these two issues--and we are nowhere near clarity--any talk of "toenadering" [coming together], reconciliation or coalition politics is purely academic and entirely irrelevant.

As a matter of straightforward fact, this government has not come with a clear and understandable declaration of intent as to what reforms it has in mind, when it wishes to introduce them and at what tempo.

For the prime minister or cabinet ministers to say a few nice things about coloureds and Indians and a few nasty things about Dr A. P. Treurnicht and the Conservative Party, does not constitute reform or give any reason for the PFP to start making cooing noises and rush into an artificial white solidarity because the prime minister "is in trouble" with his right wing.

This country needs reform, reform and reform and only on that basis can bargains be struck, deals negotiated and realignment brought about.

Any white voter who believes that a black man should not be a citizen of South Africa, that he cannot own property like anyone else, that he cannot move around as freely as anyone else to look for work, that there must be laws which force a person to belong to a race or ethnic group even if the individual does not want to, and that this must be backed up by other laws that blatantly discriminate against the person on the basis of race or ethnicity--such a voter does not understand what "reform" means and does not appreciate the potential for conflict in our land.

All these aspects are part and parcel of official government policy and as yet not indication has been given of any intention to change this.

I have no intention of making a virtue out of being bloody-minded or being deliberately uncompromising and obstinate.

I desire nothing more than to see a determined and united government move systematically away from white domination and discrimination towards a non-racial and shared South Africa.

That this is going to be extremely difficult to achieve I also do not doubt, and I do have appreciation and sympathy for tentative steps in this direction even from the government.

But I and the PFP dare not allow ourselves and our supporters to bluff ourselves that things are happening when they are not.

We dare not offer up whatever bargaining position we have for half measures and ineffectual attempts at reform. What is involved is not the future of the PFP or the careers of its public representatives, but the possibility of relatively peaceful progress and the future of us all.

Surely this demands serious consideration when issues of policy, principle and strategy arise.

There is a tendency of late to compare "step-in-the-right-direction" politics with an "all-or-nothing" position and then to argue as if the one is the same as a willingness to compromise and the other as being implacably committed to principle.

This is a totally false distinction. To be committed to principle does not mean that you are not willing to negotiate or compromise. On the contrary, how can you recognise a step in the right direction if you do not even know what the right direction is?

If two parties differ on the "right direction" and they reach a compromise, then it either means the compromise does not pose a threat to their respective principles or it means a sacrifice of a fundamental principle in favor of the "right direction" of the other party.

A step in the right direction towards reform in South Africa means that the NP is going to have to sacrifice some of its principles to bring this about. How will the PFP judge whether this is actually taking place? The following could serve as guidelines. Does it:

Increase or decrease racial polarisation between black and white?

Move towards recognising the rights of citizenship and effective franchise of all South Africans irrespective of race or ethnicity?

Clearly show a move away from discrimination on the basis of race or ethnicity?

I mention these guidelines not in a spirit of arrogance or moral superiority or as if the PFP has all the answers and the NP none.

These guidelines, I believe, provide a basis for negotiation and bargaining in terms of our respective commitments to different principles. If no agreement can be reached, the determined opposition and not the "blurring of lines" or "being kind to the NP in difficult times" is called for.

It is true that the style of white politics has changed in South Africa since the break-away of the CP. To use a metaphor: Politics has changed from being a straight-forward contact-confrontation sport between a vastly stronger team and a weaker opponent to a tug-of-war.

After all, a government that wishes to hold a successful referendum with only 43 percent of the electoral support needs to seriously concentrate its mind about where and how to get additional support.

In this tug-of-war, on the one side one has the CP and its support clearly against reform and on the other side the PFP and its support clearly for reform with the NP government in the middle. What should the PFP's strategy be? (Remember the tug-of-war is already under way!) Does it slacken now and join the middle? This simply means the right wing pulls it all in their direction.

So this kind of strategy is obviously out. The PFP must go for the balance of power so that the tug-of-war moves in the "right direction" towards reform.

It is the NP, not the PFP, nor the CP, that has to make up its mind about where it wants to go.

We are moving towards challenging and interesting time in South Africa. Already there are those who would wish to pressurise the PFP towards adopting a position on, for example, the president's council recommendations, irrespective of merit.

Whatever those recommendations are, they need to be considered seriously, patiently and in depth before we or anybody else adopts final public postures on them.

There will be various opportunities in the coming weeks and months to do so. They will be judged against our commitment to our principles and the guidelines in terms of which they represent a step in the "right direction."

I emphasised two points at our federal congress on this: The one being the central position of blacks in any relevant constitutional change in the future; the other being the drift towards unfettered executive control--the so-called "De Gaulle option."

I do not know what the president's council recommendations are going to be or how the government is going to react to them. But I have to give clear warning that the PFP is strongly committed to the creation of checks and balances against the abuse of power and any development towards an executive-style president with no, or very little, constitutional checks on his power will be strongly resisted by us.

I mention this simply to illustrate the kinds of challenges and problems all parties will have to face up to. To the PFP and its supporters I say: "Now that we are in the tug-of-war for power to be used for or against reform--for heaven's sake don't slacken now, keep tugging! All of us may some day look back with pride and gratitude that we did so when South Africa needed it most."

CSO: 4500/1215

## SOUTH AFRICA

### COUNTRY FACES 'WATERSHED IN ITS HISTORY'

MB100930 Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English 9 May 82 p 26

[Editorial: "It Could Be a Watershed Week"]

[Text] South Africa this week faces a watershed in its history: The publication of proposals from the president's council which could lead to the restructuring of the way in which this country is governed.

Comment on those proposals must obviously await their publication, but South Africans should be in no doubt about the importance of the week that lies ahead nor of the demands which the new era it could introduce will make on both them and their public representatives of all colours and persuasions.

Government, for one, should be left in no doubt that the age of schlenter [footdragging] is past, that any dispensation which does not at least allow for full and equal political participation by coloured and Indian South Africans will be more than yet another dismal and cowardly failure to come to grips with reality.

It could also plunge the government into a crisis of credibility from which neither it, nor white South Africa as a whole, could recover.

Neither must the structure which emerges from this week's proposals close the door permanently on the overwhelming majority of this country's citizens--its urban blacks. The president's council was flawed--from the outset and almost fatally--by the limits of its brief which excluded urban blacks from its deliberations. But if that exclusion is set forever in the concrete of white fear or government timidity, then the brave new world could rest on shaky foundations indeed.

It is therefore essential, as government unveils its new future for "non-black" South Africa, that it states clearly and unequivocally where it is going.

That essential public trust on which all constitutions depend for their legitimacy has been eroded in a South Africa which excluded citizens of a different hue from many of its rights and privileges. Faith in any new dispensation will only be regained if the government can show that the road into the future is indeed paved with good intentions.



That said, it is equally important that the politicians, who in the next few weeks will engage in debate on the new proposals, remember that only revolutionaries believe the myth that the world can be remade in a day. The saner course of reform is far more difficult and tortuous, with one incremental gain leading inevitably to another as the momentum of change picks up speed.

It is a path which will demand an innovative and creative response from politicians of all colours and creeds and the sometimes painful scrapping of old tactics and strategies which a new era could yet make irrelevant.

Utopian solutions beloved of extremists of the right and the left are a marvellous refuge for those who believe that the system cannot be improved and only scrapped. But if any workable solution is to be found to South Africa's horrendous problems, a desperate desire to demand the best should not be allowed to drive out any good which the president's council's proposals might contain.

On Wednesday this week, South Africa will write a new page in its history. That page should start without unsightly blots from the past.

CSO: 4700/1215

## SOUTH AFRICA

### VILJOEN URGES NEW NAVAL STRATEGY IN SOUTHERN ATLANTIC, INDIAN OCEANS

AB071202 Paris AFP in English 1145 GMT 7 May 82

[Excerpt] Pretoria, 7 May (AFP)--South African Armed Forces Chief Constand Viljoen today called for revision of Western naval policy toward South Africa because of what he said was a deteriorating strategic situation in the Indian and Atlantic oceans.

This was the only way that serious deficiencies in the West's maritime strategy could be repaired, General Viljoen said in a speech read on his behalf at a conference on maritime strategy presented here by the Institute of Strategic Studies.

General Viljoen said that the Falklands crisis indicated that the struggle for control of the world's sea lanes and naval bases was the same struggle that would ultimately decide the outcome of the East-West struggle worldwide.

His appeal for a revision of Western naval policy was not one-sided and designed to benefit South Africa only, he said in the speech to the conference, which is being held at the University of Pretoria.

The chief of staff of the South African defense force said that South Africa would gain precious little for itself materially by resuming what he called the thankless task of patrolling the waters of the Cape sea route.

He said that his appeal was based on a belief that, if the free world continued to ignore the maritime strategic realities with which it was faced, it would be placing its own security and very future in jeopardy.

Apart from the question of Western military ties with South Africa, there exists an enormous security vacuum in the Southern Atlantic and Indian oceans, and this was being visibly filled by the Soviet Union and its allies, General Viljoen said.

He added that several prominent Western military strategists had recently argued openly for some sort of South Atlantic naval alliance. Although those voices were at first heard only faintly, it was gratifying, he said, to note that these voices were growing louder and more insistent.

CSO: 4700/1215

SECURITY HEAD DENIES ASKING FOR SECRET TRIALS

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 12 May 82 pp 13, 14

[Text]

**SECURITY** Police chief Gen Coetzee, has laid a formal charge with the Press Council.

Gen Coetzee said in a statement in Pretoria last night that the complaint followed the failure of Sapa-Reuter, despite repeated requests to correct a report. General Coetzee said he had been wrongly quoted in certain newspapers, following a television interview.

CAPE TOWN. — The head of the Security Police, Lieutenant-General Johan Coetzee, yesterday denied that he was in favour of holding secret political trials.

Gen Coetzee was reacting to criticism of his remarks in a TV interview last week.

Also in Cape Town, the Minister of Justice Mr Kobie Coetsee said yesterday he was not aware of any official proposal to hold trials under security legislation in camera.

Gen Coetzee said incorrect deductions had been made from what he has said.

In the interview he had stated there were people who maintained that so-called political trials could be exploited and turned into political forums.

These allegations could be looked into to see if other methods or techniques could be found to prevent such trials being misused in this way.

He had in mind a commission of inquiry or an investigation by the Department of Justice.

He had not stated that he was in favour of secret trials, and he had never been in favour of such secrecy, Gen Coetzee said.

He pointed out that there was provision in the law at present to have parts of a trial held in camera.

In his talk to the students of the Rand Afrikaans University, he had emphasised that, at present, there were some special circumstances in South Africa, and that some security measures should be regarded as being of a temporary nature.

The Minister of Justice pointed out that the Rabie Commission which investigated security legislation had dealt with the question of trials in camera.

## Security Police Chief Demands an Apology

**LIEUTENANT-General Johan Coetzee**, the chief of the Security Police was not happy with a Sapa correction regarding his alleged statements on secret political trials, the Minister of Justice, Mr. Kobie Coetsee said.

Speaking in reply to debate on his Vote, Mr Coetzee said that there were no such things as political trials in South Africa.

Gen Coetzee had denied that he had proposed secret political trials. He had also authorised the Minister to say that he refused to accept a correction put out by Sapa saying that he denied being in favour of secret political trials.

"The correction was not categorical enough and did not say that Gen Coetzee was incorrectly reported," Mr Coetsee said.

The general demanded an apology and would use other channels to obtain the correction he sought, the Minister said.

Mr Coetsee was criticised by Mr Dave Dalling (PFP Sandton) for his response to the alleged statements by Gen

Coetzee in the Argus yesterday afternoon. He should have had more to say than one line, Mr Dalling said.

Mr Coetsee said that he had responded to a reporter who asked him to react to an alleged statement made by Gen Coetzee and he had pointed out that there were no political trials in South Africa.

The reporter had rephrased his question and referred instead to trials held under security legislation. Mr Coetsee then referred him to the recommendations of the Rabie Commission.

"I told him I was not aware of any official proposal in this regard except for the recommendations of the Rabie Commission which dealt with trials in camera," Mr Coetsee said.

The commission had refused to consider changing the present situation where court proceedings were held in open court except in extreme cases, particularly provided for in the Criminal Procedure Act.

"That is all that is on the table and there is nothing sinister lurking

on this issue," he said.

He wanted to counter any impression that might have been created that plans for secret political trials were being made.

"I totally deny that we hold political trials," Mr Coetsee said.

"I deny categorically that there are any plans to arrange or plan any secret political trials."

He was sure that the statements attributed to Gen Coetzee would have been ignored if they had been said by anyone else. The fact that he was the chief of the Security Branch and a senior police officer had given newsworthiness to his remarks.

When he was asked to explain his alleged statement, he had immediately requested Sapa to correct the original report as he denied having said it.

A Sapa story was issued saying that the general had denied having said he was in favour of secret political trials.

"The general has authorised me to say that is not happy with this correction," Mr Coetsee said. — Sapa.

HNP LEADER IN COURT OVER FUEL SECRETS

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 12 May 82 p 2

[Text] The leader of the Herstigte Nasionale Party, Mr Jaap Marais (59) from Rietondale, Pretoria, appeared in the Pretoria Regional Court yesterday on a charge of contravening the Petroleum Products Act.

Mr Marais pleaded not guilty to the charge. The State alleged that Mr Marais had disclosed information about the supply of petrol to Black states in a speech he made in Pretoria on April 27 last year. It was also alleged that the Afrikaner, the HNP's mouthpiece published similar information on April 10, 16 and 24 last year.

Mr Marais allegedly obtained information from a telex message, a copy of which was delivered in the offices of the HNP a few days before the general election last year.

The first witness, Lieutenant Colonel G.J. Jacobs, who was the investigating officer in the case, told the court he attended a speech in the Pretoria City Hall.

He took notes and alleged that during the five days between March 22 and March 26 last year information concerning 129 railway tankers containing five million tons of fuel sent to Zimbabwe was made available at the meeting.

Fotostats of the telex were also made available in the foyer of the city hall to the general public. Lt Col Jacobs later went to Mr Marais' house in Rietondale where he confiscated copies of the pamphlets issued by the HNP.

Another witness, Mr M.J. Brits from the Bloemfontein office of the SA Railways said a telex message which was sent to senior railway officials asking their co-operation in the speedy delivery of petrol to Zimbabwe had fallen into the hands of one Piet Vermeulen who was working in the telex office at the time. He had no right to take it home.

After the State had closed its case, the general secretary of the HNP, Mr Louis Stofberg told the court that a copy of the telex message was brought to him and he realised it was political dynamite which could be used in the HNP political campaign.

He ordered thousands of copies to be made and used one during a political meeting at George to "shock" the audience.

It was at a time when the Government claimed that petrol was in short supply and the fact that it was exported to neighbouring Black states was kept away from the public.

Mr Stofberg thought it was a golden opportunity to give his political campaign a boost.

Questioned by the regional magistrate, Mr A.C. Klopper, he admitted that he knew the Petroleum Products Act prohibited the disclosure of information on the sale and transport of petrol.

He said he understood the law to mean that only the origin of petroleum products had to be kept secret. He claimed the National Party had published information about the sale of petrol to Zambia and he thought this provided justification for his party to disclose information about the transport of petrol to neighbouring Black states.

Mr Klopper reserved judgment.

Mr I.W.B. Villiers, SC, assisted by Mr B de Vos appeared for Mr Marais and Mr J.J. de Jager prosecuted.

CSO: 4700/1217



HUNGER STRIKE BY BLACKS IN CAPE TOWN EMBARRASSES REGIME

Paris LE MONDE in French 31 Mar 82 p 6

[Article by Patrice Claude: "The Tragedy of the 'Bush People'"]

[Text] Johannesburg--Rather dead than constantly on the run. This is, to put it succinctly, the belief of the women and men who, since 9 March, have taken refuge in Saint George's Cathedral in Cape Town to starve themselves to death there. One day, 57 "bush people" reached the point where they got tired of the freezing nights spent in the bush, of the early morning thick with the fumes of teargas, of bites from police dogs, of arrests, imprisonment, heavy fines, daily humiliations, and forced deportation to the poverty-stricken homelands. By seeking asylum in the cathedral, located within a stone's throw of Parliament, by going on a hunger strike now in its 21st day--with the only ones who are spared being the 15 children and 2 pregnant women who are sharing the adventure--the outcasts of Saint George's Cathedral have made a move which is risky, as far as their fate is concerned, but also highly embarrassing for the government.

Most of the hunger strikers, who somehow have managed to survive for 15 or 20 years in Cape Province--a "whites only" zone where all "non-Europeans" are required to have a residence permit, which they do not have--came from the "camp without a name," the most famous one in the world, the Nyanga Camp in the suburbs of Cape Town (see LE MONDE of 20 Apr 81). All of them have been deported at least once to the Bantu homeland of Transkei from which they returned, as did 100 or so of their compatriots who are hiding in the surrounding bush. Many of them have permanent, though illegal, jobs in the area. All they ask is to be allowed to keep their jobs, to walk the streets of Cape Town without fear, and to live at least united as a family. In other words, they demand to have their situation legalized and to get residence permits for themselves and their children.\*

The minister in charge, Dr Piet Koornhof, who holds the portfolio of cooperation and development, has already explained that the peninsula is an employment

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\*In most cases, workers assigned to the "independent" homelands are given, if they have a job, a residence permit for themselves only. Their families must remain in the Bantu homeland.

zone restricted to the Colored, who are very numerous in the region and who themselves are victims of growing unemployment. The Blacks have their Bantu homelands, and the "privileged ones" have the "townships" in the outskirts of the white towns where they hold jobs according to the qualification stamped on their "passes" (identity papers specifically for Blacks, on which their place of residence and employment must be noted).

#### Embarrassment for the Government

Last week, however, Mr Koornhof agreed to meet with the squatters, on condition that they first leave the cathedral. To bring an end to their suffering, the "57" were on the verge of accepting, but they changed their minds when they remembered that the minister's nickname is Doctor "Piet Promises." They remained safe in their sanctuary, supported by the churches of the country--with the exception of the Dutch Reformed Church, to which most Afrikaners belong--encouraged by all those who want to see apartheid disappear, and assailed by people who are bold as long as they are anonymous.

The days ago, a pregnant woman had to be evacuated to a neighboring hospital, where it was found that she had had a miscarriage. She has since rejoined her people. Ten or so weakened men are practically unable to stand up and show alarming symptoms (headaches, partial and temporary paralysis...). But with the comfort given to them by a Colored Anglican nun who decided to join them, they are standing firm and are finding strength and hope through faith and meditation.

Now, unless the entire legislation dealing with "control over the influx of blacks into towns" is challenged, it is hard to see how the minister could grant the 57 strikers the same concessions he refuses to make for several hundreds of thousands of illegals in the country. Unless, of course, in keeping with the policy of "exceptions" which it has followed in the past 2 or 3 years, the government decides to extricate itself from this predicament by resorting to the usual argument of "the special nature of the present case."

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CSO: 4719/788

ZION CHRISTIAN CHURCH ASSEMBLY HELD IN NORTHERN TRANSVAAL

Lahore THE PAKISTAN TIMES in English 30 Apr 82

[Article by Allister Sparks: "Apartheid's Victims Find Pride in Hot-Gospelling"]

[Text] For four days a dusty hillside in the Northern Transvaal swarmed with more than a million African pilgrims come for their annual spiritual recharge in the presence of their own black bishop.

This was the Easter conference of the Zion Christian Church, biggest of the religious sects which are springing up almost daily in South Africa's black community as people who are denied political activity turn to religion for an outlet.

It was a huge emotional affair, half modern Christian hot-gospelling with divine healing, baptisms by immersion and speaking in tongues, and half traditional Africa revelling in its ancestor worship and smelling out of evil spirits.

The scene was a farm at Morija, 200 miles north of Johannesburg, bought by the sect's founder, Engenas Lekganyane, in 1912. Today, as Zion City, it is presided over by Engenas's grandson, 27-year-old Bishop Barnabas Lekganyane.

The ZCC is a movement of exploding growth that exerts a profound influence over its followers. Yet such is the insularity of South Africa's segregated society that the whites know hardly anything about it, except that it causes a traffic problem on the road north every Easter.

They see people in flowing white robes walking about the streets on Sundays. They know that the Africans who wear a little silver star on their lapels don't drink and are good workers. That is about the extent of their knowledge.

In fact, the rapid growth of the black sects is one of the more remarkable and revealing phenomena of the apartheid society.

These sects began appearing all over Africa towards the end of the last century as a reaction against what is now being called the ecclesiastical colonialism of Western Christian missionaries. In South Africa they began

multiplying at an astonishing rate when Afrikaner nationalism came to power in 1948 with its oppressive policy of apartheid.

There were 800 South African sects in 1948. Now there are 3,700 with 30 percent of the total African population of 20 million as followers. That makes the sects collectively by far the biggest organised African movement in the country. They obviously have the potential to go over to political action but so far there is no sign of this. They are in fact a substitute for politics which has become too dangerous and unproductive for blacks under the white man's proscriptive laws.

We have no time for politics, says the ZCC's liaison officer, Lesetja Mabe evasively. We have too much other work to do.

Indeed the ZCC seems almost obsequious. Shouting guards cleared a path through the milling crowd for me--a white reporter--when I drove into Zion City.

The walls of the visitors reception room are hung with portraits of the country's white political leaders and dead Afrikaner heroes. There is a replica of the Voortrekker monument on a table, to black radicals probably the most hated symbol of white domination.

When the Minister of Bantu Administration visited Moria in 1965, Barnabas's father Bishop Edward Lekganyane thanked him for leading the black man to orderly freedom and added: "In our church there is no room for people who undermine national security and break the law."

Yet the situation is loaded with ambiguity. The sects represent a revolt against white domination in the ecclesiastical domain, a massive independence movement.

In some cases there is certainly a spiritual, if not a political, militancy. The pale white Christ has been downgraded by some sects and almost replaced by a black Messiah. One such is the Nazarite Church in Natal whose founder, Isaiah Shembe, has been deified.

The Nazarites have reversed the colour bar in heaven. Their black Messiah guards the heavenly gate and on the basis of the parable of Lazarus and the rich man refuses entry to whites and admits only blacks.

Broadly, the sects can be divided into two main categories, the Ethiopian churches and Zionist churches.

The Ethiopian churches began in the 1890s as a reaction against white spiritual conquest.

The Zionist sects have nothing in common with modern Jewish Zionism. They have their roots in the United States.

All have one thing in common: an enveloping warmth at their gatherings, a collective psychology of mutual support and protection.--'P.T. Observer' Service

## AVERAGE YEARLY EARNING IN CISKEI REPORTED

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 12 May 82 p 21

[Text]

THE average income per household in Ciskei is estimated at R2 561 and income per person at R453 a year for 1981, despite the fact that about 14 percent of the labour force in the country is unemployed.

This is disclosed in a survey done by the Bureau of Market Research at the University of Pretoria.

The survey reveals that the income of all inhabitants of Ciskei amounted to R293,4-million. Income was derived mainly from salaries and wages (66 percent), with contributions from family (mostly migratory workers) and friends making up 9 percent and farming activities 8 percent of the total.

What is alarming is that about 14 percent of the country's work force is unemployed.

Thirteen percent of these unemployed people out of a total of 28 500 males between the ages of 18 and 65 years of age are, however, not interested in work.

Several interesting facts emerge when the survey results are compared with those obtained in other independent Black states.

Estimates of total income of the people are highest in Transkei with R809,7-million in 1981, compared with R588,9-million for Bophuthatswana, R293,4-million for Ciskei and only R75,1-million for Venda.

The relatively higher figure in Transkei may be ascribed mainly to its larger population.

As far as income per person is concerned, the people in Bophuthatswana and Ciskei are much better off.

The estimated income in Bophuthatswana and Ciskei was in the region of R430 per year for 1981, compared with R300 in Transkei and R230 in Venda.

The inhabitants of Bophuthatswana spend only 55 percent of their money within the borders.

This figure is also fairly low for Ciskei — 58 percent.

SASOL THREE SWINGS INTO PRODUCTION

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 12 May 82 p 11

[Text]

SASOL Three produced crude oil from coal for the first time at the plant yesterday.

Sasol has been producing crude oil from coal since 1955 when the process was first employed commercially at Sasol One in Sasolburg. The main producer at present is Sasol Two, which will be in full production at the end of this year. Sasol Three will be in full production in 1985.

The Sasol Three fuel-from-coal plant which is almost a duplicate of Sasol Two, is now 96 percent constructed and has remained within its R3,28-billion budget.

Refined petroleum products will be marketed in August this

year. The plant is already producing industrial gas, ammonia and other co-products.

The chairman of Sasol, Mr Dirk de Villiers, said yesterday when Sasol Two and Three were in full production, South Africa would have considerably reduced its dependence on imported energy.

Meanwhile, South African Mineral and Energy Affairs Minister, Mr Frederik de Klerk, told Parliament that the building of a Sasol Four plant should be considered soon. According to a Sasol spokesman, a fourth plant will not be constructed before 1985 because of a manpower shortage.

CSO: 4700/1217



## JUSTICE FOR ALL WITHIN OUR GRASP, SAYS ASSOCOM CHIEF

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 10 May 82 p 18

[Text]

## BLOEMFONTEIN.

— From an economic point of view, the chances of survival with justice in South Africa have never been better than at present and this chance should not be squandered, Mr Raymond Parsons, chief executive of the Association of Chambers of Commerce (Assocom), said in Bloemfontein at the weekend.

Mr Parsons was addressing the Suidelike Aktualiteitskonferensie of the Afrikaans Studentebond on "The Role of Survival in Justice Within the Economic System in South Africa."

He said on the economic front, the "key to survival and justice lies in our ability to meet the challenge of improving the capitalist system in South Africa."

This could be achieved by:

- Maintaining adequate economic growth to create jobs and improve incomes;
- Undertaking

manpower training and development for all races, on a vast scale, to meet the demand for skilled and managerial personnel;

- Reforming the educational and training system to achieve parity for all races;

- Removing racial discrimination in employment;

- Promoting sound regional economic development;

- Developing a strong Black entrepreneurial and middle class;

- Encouraging the development of a responsible Black trade union movement;

- Providing for labour mobility and solving the problems of urbanisation with the new policy initiatives that have been created by the government.

Mr Parsons said the achievement of political and economic goals required the active participation of private initiative in the widest sense.

"All racial groups should be given a stake in the system to uphold and defend," he said.

South Africa could survive through the extension and reform of the free enterprise system, while at the same time doing justice to the aspirations of other groups. Economic interests were basically interdependent.

He added that there would be short-term sacrifices. "Change is not a friend to everyone. We must seek to build a society in the future which has the right proportion of ladders and safety nets," he said. — Sapa.

DOMINEE CLARIFIES SATANIST ALLEGATION

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 10 May 82 p 2

[Text] THE Paarl Dutch Reformed Church dominee, who said in a sermon last Sunday that there was a Satanist in the cabinet, yesterday repeated the remarks before more than 700 people packed into his church.

But Rev Roelie Maree insisted that the remarks were not his own allegations but those of other people who had made them in writing and verbally for several years. He appealed to members of his congregation who do not feel he has explained the remarks and cleared up the misunderstanding to direct written objections to the church council.

If, when the church council meets on May 19, no objections are received, Mr Maree said he would consider the matter closed.

After the sermon last week, when Mr Maree made the controversial remarks about the Satanist cabinet minister, Mr Pik Botha, Minister of Foreign Affairs, asked him to explain the allegations.

Mr Maree told Mr Botha that he had mentioned no names and that he was merely re-

peating allegations that had become common knowledge.

Yesterday he told the packed congregation that he had frequently heard people say that a cabinet minister considered the foundation of religion was no longer important and that therefore he was not living out his religious beliefs.

If this was true, the minister was ambiguous in his faith because one could not worship two gods.

If the allegations were true, the minister was worshipping none other than the Devil, said Mr Maree.

"People are starting to believe that I mentioned Mr Botha when I made the remarks, which is simply not true," he said.

An elder, Mr Van Zyl Nieuwoudt, said members of the congregation had told him that they were satisfied with Mr Maree's explanation. He did not expect any written objections would be sent to the church council.

SOUTH AFRICAN SOLDIER EXCHANGED FOR KGB AGENT

MB121240 Johannesburg RAND DAILY MAIL in English 12 May 82 p 1

[By John Battersby, political correspondent]

[Text] Cape Town--Sapper Johan van der Mescht, the South African held by SWAPO since 1978, has been freed in a top-secret spy swap following direct negotiations between S.A. intelligence and the Soviet intelligence service, the KGB.

South Africa's only prisoner-of-war was released "somewhere in Europe yesterday" along with eight "very important" Western intelligence agents in exchange for the top KGB spy, Major Aleksey Koslov.

An obviously delighted prime minister, Mr P.W. Botha, broke the sensational news to a hushed House of Assembly last night.

Mr Botha said that 27-year-old Sapper van der Mescht would arrive in South Africa "shortly" and would be reunited with his family "as soon as possible."

Sapper van der Mescht was captured by SWAPO in February 1978--a month after he went into the army--and left behind his young wife and seven-month-old daughter.

"I have great pleasure in announcing that an exchange took place in Europe today, involving the South African national serviceman, Sapper Johan van der Mescht..." the prime minister began.

The dramatic East-West spy-swap is clearly a major diplomatic coup for South Africa and a personal triumph for Mr Botha, who announced the capture of Major Koslov in January last year.

Mr Botha said that the release of the eight high-ranking Western agents, who had been held behind the Iron Curtain "for some considerable time," provided clear proof of South Africa's good will towards Western countries and its contribution to the free world's struggle for survival against communist domination.

"I trust that this approach of South Africa will not go unnoticed with these governments."

"I refer especially to those who have recently displayed a sharply hostile attitude towards our country," Mr Botha said.

Mr Botha indicated that the negotiations leading to the release of Sapper van der Mescht had been conducted by Mr Niel Barnard, director-general of the National Intelligence Service, and had involved direct contact between South Africa and the KGB.

"I feel compelled, by way of exception, to violate my personal public approach to matters pertaining to the actions of the National Intelligence Service.

"In giving credit where credit is so patently due, I would therefore like to avail myself of this opportunity to congratulate the director-general and his personnel of the National Intelligence Service, on the capable manner and with the measure of success with which they conducted the difficult and direct negotiations with the Russian intelligence service, the KGB.

"The successful conclusion of this matter can be ascribed largely to the fact that it was handled professionally and under conditions of the utmost secrecy.

"The ethics of intelligence work demand that it be performed without fanfare, and I would like to emphasise that no further information about the negotiations will be supplied to this house or to any of the media," Mr Botha said.

The prime minister also disclosed that unsuccessful efforts had been made to secure the release of Russian dissident Anatoliy Viktor Shcharanskiy in exchange for Major Koslov.

Mr Botha said the efforts had failed due to factors beyond South Africa's control but had not gone unnoticed. He quoted a debt of gratitude expressed by Rabbi Rabinowitz of Israel in the JEWISH HERALD of November 3, 1981.

"Incredible though it may sound, South Africa offered to exchange a high-ranking Soviet spy, a Colonel Koslov, for Viktor Shcharanskiy, one of the prisoners of Zion held by Russia, to enable him to proceed to Israel.

"For that noble and unparalleled gesture on the part of South Africa I am prepared to forgive her all her failings."

Sapper van der Mescht is expected to arrive at Jan Smuts airport today, where he is likely to be reunited briefly with the 21-year-old wife, Cheryl, and five-year-old daughter, Chantal, before undergoing an intensive debriefing session.

Most of his four years in captivity have been spent in Luanda.

The Van der Mescht swap for a Russian superspy is the second exchange involving a Soviet agent captured in South Africa in recent times.

Following his arrest in September, 1967, Soviet spy Yuriy Loginov was exchanged for 10 West German hostages in an international deal.

Yesterday's news was greeted by open jubilation in the assembly and the leader of the opposition, Dr van Zyl Slabbert, and other opposition parties welcomed the announcement and congratulated all concerned.

Major Koslov was picked up by the NIS on his third visit to South Africa, where his main task was to act as an eyewitness to the effects of Russian interference in Southern Africa.

CSO: 4700/1215

CITY OFFICIALS DISCUSS REVENUE PROPOSALS

MB170802 Johannesburg SUNDAY EXPRESS in English 16 May 82 pp 1, 2

[By Martin Welz]

[Excerpt] Proposals for sweeping reform of local government have thrown PFP [Progressive Federal Party] city councillors in Johannesburg, Randburg and Sandton into a crisis.

Progressive Federal Party councillors from all three municipalities will meet the deputy leader of the party, Mr Colin Eglin, in Johannesburg tomorrow to thrash out a common response to proposals by the president's council.

"The position is very fluid, one PFP council source said.

The councillors fear the revenue-sharing proposals, believing that Johannesburg and other municipalities can hardly afford to run themselves now.

Under the proposed new system blacks would conceivably acquire the power, for example, to divert Johannesburg's money to meet Soweto's needs.

Commenting on their anxieties, the leader of the opposition, Dr Fredrik van Zyl Slabbert, said:

"One of the very real dangers of creating separate local government institutions for the various racial groups--even if they are an improvement of the present inadequate situation--is that there can be an increase in racial hostility if attempts at cooperation simply underline the inequalities between these communities.

"That is why it is vitally important to look at the financing and systems of raising revenue when considering the acceptability and viability of such a scheme."

PFP councillors fear the president's council plan to link white municipalities with neighbouring coloured, Indian and black local authorities will put a crushing burden on white ratepayers.



But they know that if they baulk at proposals to share income more equitably among local authorities they will be accused of failing to "put their money where their mouth is".

The leader of the PFP in the Johannesburg city council, Mr Sam Moss, told the SUNDAY EXPRESS:

"My main fear is that acceptance of the proposals will mean downgrading the Johannesburg city council to the status of a village council, and that it will undermine our financial base and lead to economic stagnation in the city.

"Clearly, depending on just how the voting system works, blacks might be able to outvote whites in a metropolitan authority, and can be expected to want to divert funds to other priorities.

"There are vast gaps in the standard of service provided in the various racial areas and we will obviously have to divert funds from Johannesburg to close them if we wish for racial peace.

"My initial observations are based on financial and administrative considerations, not political considerations. We must still weigh up all the issues."

CSO: 4700/1214

## SOUTH AFRICA

### BRIEFS

**BISHOP'S CONFERENCE REPORT ON NAMIBIA**--The South African bishop's conference has issued a hard-hitting report on South-West Africa/Namibia, Adam Cuchani reports from the bishop's headquarters in Pretoria. [Begin recording] The report runs close to 40 pages. It paints the picture of conditions in the territory very different to what is usually presented in South African media. It refers to accounts of atrocities perpetrated by members of the South African security forces. According to the president of the bishop's conference, Archbishop Dennis Hurley, even Major-General Charles Lloyd of the territory's forces, admitted to atrocities from both sides of the conflict. The bishop's report says that in conversations with black Namibians in Owambo they found that the people do not fear SWAPO guerrillas but the South African security forces. In their conclusion, the bishops take a stand that there is a universal consensus that South Africa has no right to be in Namibia. He said that they conclude that whatever the Marxist tendencies of SWAPO, it seems the movement has powerful popular support and seems certain to win any free and fair elections under UN supervision. Adam Cuchani, Pretoria, for Capital News [end recording] [Text] [MB141205 Umtata Transkei Capital Radio in English 1000 GMT 14 May 82]

**N. NATAL POLICE STATION ATTACKED**--Unknown gunmen have attacked a police station in Northern Natal. Two policemen were injured in the attack, and it is believed the gunmen got away with a quantity of firearms. Didi Moyle: [begin recording] The attack on the [word indistinct] police station took place after 9:30 last night. According to reports, three men walked into the charge office and began a discussion. One man then pulled out a gun and started firing at the two policemen on duty. The policemen were later taken to a hospital, where the condition of one is described as serious. One was hit in the head and shoulder, and the other in his right side and leg. A spokesman for the Kwa-Zulu police headquarters in Ulundi said that there were no indications at this stage that the work has been that of politically-motivated guerrillas. After the attack, the gunmen fled, taking firearms. Police are scouring the district today. Didi Moyle in Durban for Capital Radio News. [end recording]. [Text] [MB171340 Umtata Transkei Capital Radio in English 1300 GMT 17 May 82]

BROEDERBOND URGES END OF APARTHEID--Johannesburg, 9 May (AFP)--The exclusive Afrikaner organization the Broederbond, whose members hold key positions at government level in South Africa, has reportedly called for the scrapping of major apartheid laws, according to the local SUNDAY EXPRESS. The paper said the Bond had prepared a report condemning racial discrimination and warning that the present political order of white supremacy in South Africa could not be maintained. It was said to have called on the government to issue a declaration of intent to demonstrate its earnestness in moving away from racial discrimination. The EXPRESS said the brotherhood had recommended the removing from the statutes of the main pillars of apartheid policies--the mixed marriages act banning sex between people of different races, the group areas act which stipulates white and non-white residential zones, the population registration act, [words indistinct], and the electoral act, under which only white currently have the vote for the all-white parliament. The government's "confederation of states" concept was the only alternative for South Africa and the only way in which racial discrimination could be totally eliminated, the Bond report said. [Text] [AB090639 Paris AFP in English 0402 GMT 9 May 82]

SECRET TRIALS SUGGESTION--Cape Town.--The head of the security police, Lieutenant-General Johan Coetzee, has proposed the holding of secret political trials in South Africa. His proposal, made in an interview on SABC-TV this week, was described as "horrendous" by the opposition's chief spokesman on human rights, Mrs Helen Suzman. "This would be a giant step closer to a totalitarian regime in South Africa. It should be opposed strenuously, not only by law societies and bar councils, but by ordinary citizens too," she said in an interview. Gen Coetzee told SABC-TV that some political trials should not take place in open court, because they were exploited as political forums by the accused. He said some people believed the court system for political trials should be replaced by an alternative closed system. The suggestion follows the tabling in Parliament of the Protection of Information Bill, which would prohibit the Press or any other organisation or individual from disclosing the detention of any person under security laws. In effect, the bill would give the Government the right secretly to detain and interrogate any person and would even prohibit public disclosure of the death of a detainee. If Gen Coetzee's proposal were translated into law, it would mean that the Government could detain, interrogate, prosecute, convict and even execute a person under the country's security laws entirely in secret. Legal experts said there was no known instance of South African courts having been abused for political ends, and any presiding judge or magistrate already had the power to prevent such abuse.--Sapa. [Text] [Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 10 May 82 p 12]

INDUSTRY URGES CHANGES--South African industry had to convince the Government of the need for accelerated change and to convince people that change was for their own good. This was one of the general observations made by foreign guests to a major international conference organised by Barlow Rand. In addition, it was felt that South Africa needed an effective information programme to communicate the changes taking place--and to put right the adverse perceptions about it held by the West. The 1982 Barlow Rand International Conference was attended by a cross-section of influential people including brokers, businessmen, investment experts and a newspaper editor from the United Kingdom and the United States. The conference was aimed at giving the visitors an insight into Barlow Rand and the current South African socio-economic situation and was held at Barlow Park during the first week in March. It was the third such conference hosted by the group in recent years, the last being in 1978. Briefings were given to the conference by top Government officials, investment experts from outside the group, newspaper editors, trade unionists and prominent figures from the private and public sectors. An input was also given by Barlow Rand executives on the group and its philosophies which included a review of the group's views on industrial relations, especially the implementation of the Barlow Rand Code of Employment Practice. [Text] [Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 12 May 82 p 19]

CSO: 4700/1217

# ZAIRE, COUNTRY START UP SHIPPING LINE

Lome NOUVELLE MARCHE in French 15 Apr 82 pp 5, 12

[Article by Dodji Aougah]

[Text] Togo and Zaire will henceforth have a regular ocean shipping line. The startup of this maritime cooperation was marked on Tuesday by the stopoff of a Zairian merchant ship, the "M/V Kananga," which docked at the Autonomous Port of Lome for the first time.

The "M/V Kananga" is a multipurpose vessel able to carry 73 passengers, containerized cargo and various types of freight. It will make the connection between its home port (Matadi) and the ports of Africa and Northern and Southern Europe and will be in Lome every month.

It is represented in Togo by SOAEM [West African Ocean Shipping Company], which will handle all reservations for passengers and goods to be shipped.

In order to celebrate the startup of this maritime cooperation, Bomolo Lokoka Ikukele, Zairian ambassador to Togo and head of the diplomatic corps, gave a reception on board the ship Tuesday evening.

Attending the reception were a number of prominent officials, including Barry Moussa Barque, member of the Political Bureau and minister of public works, mining, energy and hydraulic resources; Koffi Walla, member of the Central Committee and minister of commerce and transport, Manasse Aquereburu, director of SOAEM, Soumon Tchamdja, director of SOTONAM (Togolese Maritime Shipping Company), members of the diplomatic corps and officials from the various maritime transport departments.

Actually, the ministerial conference of West and Central African nations on ocean shipping, of which Togo and Zaire are members, has always emphasized in its recommendations the need for such cooperation between countries in the subregion in order to have increased control of their maritime activities, an indispensable base for control of their international trade.

For the Zairian ambassador, this ceremony once more demonstrates the good relations of friendship and cooperation existing between our two countries, sincere friendship and cooperation woven by our two chiefs of state:

Gen Gnassingbe Eyadema, president and founder of the Rally of the Togolese People (RPT), and his brother and friend, Mobutu Sese Seko, president of the Republic of Zaire.

In order to promote Togolese imports and exports, the Zairian diplomat said, the Zairian Shipping Company (CMZ) is willing to grant Togolese shippers preferential conditions because these will be commercial transactions between two brother countries.

On behalf of the board of directors of the Zairian Shipping Company, Bomolo expressed hope for open cooperation between the company that operates these lines with eight ships, whose deadweight varies between 12,000 and 15,000 tons, and Togolese shipping companies.

11,464

CSO: 4719/863



LOME PAPER STRESSES NEED FOR HONESTY, UNITY

Lome NOUVELLE MARCHE in French 8 Apr 82 pp 1, 4

[Editorial by Dadja Wiyao Pouwi: "Reflection"]

[Text] Enough can never be said about the recent measures taken by the Central Committee of our party, the Rally of the Togolese People.

A continuing search for the possibilities of an optimum and fair distribution of the national income: This is now the measures could be summed up. Togo's resources must benefit all its sons. The questioning of such a profession of faith and the dishonest, even fraudulent, practices of some individuals aimed at monopolizing the national patrimony must be eliminated.

After freeing us on that day of 13 January 1967, President Eyadema worked tooth and nail to achieve our economic liberation 7 years later.

Since that time, we have agreed to fight alongside him for other victories.

We all agreed to make sacrifices and sustained efforts aimed at warding off once and for all the spectre of underdevelopment and its corollaries: hunger, ignorance and illiteracy.

How can we overcome all these evils? We had in our hands a formidable weapon which the white settlers damaged. Our leaders rapidly understood that that weapon had to be put in top form. Consequently, the president and founder of the RPT issued an urgent appeal to all the Togolese people in 1977 for a return to the land, "which never deceives."

Spontaneously, as on other occasions, the people (wage earners and peasants) answered the call and undertook the green revolution recommended by the chief of state. Today, at home and abroad, we are all unanimous in hailing the positive and satisfactory results obtained in such a short time.

Undeniably, such an undertaking is a long-range task. But the awareness, determination and thrust of the Togolese people have made it possible to take the bull by the horns and arrive at such results.

On our farms and in our regions and villages, the peasants have assumed their responsibilities, encouraged by the successive exemptions from civic taxes and

the trust placed in them by the president and founder of the RPT, Gen Gnassingbe Eyadema.

However, some of our fellow citizens are undermining the efforts of the courageous farmers by speculative practices. Here again, the chief of state has intervened in time to take appropriate measures.

He took advantage of the opportunity to start agricultural awareness campaigns throughout the country. He will not abandon this undertaking. In order that our grain, which constitutes our basic food, does not go to foreign markets, it must be stored and kept so that the expression "tiding us over between seasons" will no longer be heard in Togo, whence the establishment of the National Solidarity Fund.

The many subscriptions recorded to date prove that the president and founder of the RPT was correct in what he did. Further proof is furnished by the purchasing campaigns. The price of 7,000 francs to be charged by Togograin for a 100-kilogram bag of corn or millet-sorghum during the off season also proves that the subscribers are right.

The same quantity of these commodities now cost between 11,000 and 12,000 francs from private individuals. Our voluntary subscriptions will enable us to get through the off-season period without difficulty.

This will be an asset for the entire community. United and solidary, we shall have overcome hunger, an affliction characteristic of underdeveloped nations.

We shall then say that if unity makes strength and solidarity, it can move mountains.

The concern of every individual is to be able to meet his basic, primordial needs: housing, clothing, basic food.

Just as we reacted positively in setting up a national solidarity fund for self-sufficiency in food, we must practice that solidarity in all our daily activities, whether such activities are profitable or not.

In our offices, on job sites and in the fields, active solidarity must reign between all social partners.

At the markets and in the stores, our fellow merchants must abstain from illegal price increases, as is often the case whenever the salaries of civil servants rise.

The homeowner who charges a reasonable rent demonstrates national solidarity.

The taxi driver who follows the set rates is also moved by nationalism. Whatever our place, we must all subordinate personal interest to the collective interest.

With regard to food, therefore, our feeling of solidarity must extend to all sectors of social life. In this way, we shall aid the government of General Eyadema in its emancipation struggle for real independence: economic independence. Each one of us must make his contribution to the construction of this country, the chief of state tirelessly repeats. No one must remain or feel on the outside.

This explains the policy of dialogue and concertation that we have had in Togo since 1967. It is that policy which prevailed in the recent measures concerning the problem of exorbitant prices for loincloth fabric. Importers and retailers selling such fabric must be brought around. Our hand is out to them.

They must take it. At any rate, at stake -s their interest and the interest of the entire national community, for it is in peace and harmony that we shall build our dear country: Togo.

Peace is a reality in Togo. The unity of all Togolese people is a fact.

This commands us to support one another. In that way, not only will our motto "Unity-Peace-Solidarity" find meaning, but our country will also force the esteem of foreign nations.

At all times, we must manifest total solidarity in order not to make the noble ideals of our party and the president and founder of the RPT, General Eyadema, empty words. Otherwise, our efforts will serve no purpose. In such a case, as with water through a sieve, our sacrifices will have no results and our economic take off, which began so well, will suffer.

11,464

CSO: 4719/863

# FOOD SELF-SUFFICIENCY, RURAL DEVELOPMENT STRESSED

Lome NOUVELLE MARCHE in French 14 Apr 82 p 3

[Article by Agbessi Buagbe: "Agriculture: The Basis of Our Socioeconomic Development"]

[Text] Speculation has no place in Togo.

That is the lesson to be learned once more from the measures taken on 31 March by the Central Committee of the Rally of the Togolese People (RPT), meeting under the chairmanship of General Eyadema, president and founder of the RPT, measures concerning the sale price of grain and the increase in the price of fabric for clothing.

It will be recalled that concerning grain, the average reference cost prices were set. These prices are not to exceed 9,500 francs for a 100-kilogram bag of corn, 9,700 francs for a bag of sorghum-millet and 16,500 francs for a bag of beans, anticipating that during the off-season period, Togograin will sell us that grain for 7,000 francs a bag.

For some time, food problems have been discussed by international bodies as the factors constituting the most serious handicap to the socioeconomic development of Third World countries. There are no international conferences on the development of the Third World that does not have on its agenda -- and in a prime spot -- the problem of food self-sufficiency. The economic policies of the Third World, such conferences recommend, must be based on rural development and self-sufficiency in food.

This strategy of development was already known to us in Togo. Through the "green revolution," the Eyadema regime had already made rural development the foundation of its development policy.

We are fortunate in Togo to have political leaders whose exceptional qualities and foresight enable us in many fields to face with great chance of success the diverse effects of an unfavorable international situation that no longer spares any country. In the food domain, the concern that has always been shown by the president of the republic and founder of the RPT, Gen Gnassingbe Eyadema, has been expressed in the policy of the green revolution embarked upon since his accesssion to the presidency. This policy aims, through food

self-sufficiency, to guarantee us our minimum vital needs, without which any human participation in the development process becomes impossible.

This policy was clearly defined at the national seminar on agricultural production held in Lome in March 1977, during which the president and founder of the RPT said: "Today, we are facing our economic and development problems. Here again, we must not approach them all at the same time. We must begin at the beginning, with what is most urgent. The most urgent need is the material and moral well-being of our people. That well-being necessarily depends on the satisfaction of the most basic need of the people: food. It is essential that within the near future, all Togolese will have enough to eat."

Since that seminar, the members of the Central Committee of the RPT have undertaken annual agricultural awareness campaigns in our villages, throughout the national territory, in order to remind rural people of the party's slogans regarding agricultural production. That was the case with 2 and 14 March.

#### Party's Merit

The objectives of the Rally of the Togolese People, our avant-garde party, and the policy of its president-founder, General Eyadema, are clear: assuring the Togolese people of their well-being and bring the country out of its state of underdevelopment.

The remarkable importance granted to the development of agriculture is on a par with our leaders' concern for assuring the Togolese people of coordinated development because agriculture is the basis of any development, especially with respect to our essentially agricultural vocation, and a people that does not have enough to eat cannot face the task of national construction or be the master of its destiny.

Our party very early turned out attention to the vital importance of this sector of development and especially, has not confined itself to statements of principle and good intentions. Since the launching of the green revolution, countless actions have been taken, organs and institutions for development and agricultural training have been formed and spectacular achievements have been made in rural areas.

#### Togograin, Togofruit

Regional Offices for the Production and Promotion of Food Crops, the National Palm Plantation and Oilworks Company, the Togolese Cotton Company, the Togo Agricultural Products Office (OPAT), the National Fund for Agricultural Credits (CNCA), the Agricultural Land Reform, agricultural machinery, government subsidies for fertilizer, access trails and roads: These are all concrete achievements which, supported by seminars and frequent agricultural campaigns, eloquently illustrate the dynamic and determined action taken by the Eyadema regime in its agricultural development policy.

The merit of all these achievements can above all be measures in a very difficult world socioeconomic context characterized by the continuous deterioration

in the terms of trade and the countless development problems in our countries, in which climate conditions and uncertainties often bring our economic planning into question.

Self-sufficiency in food, the prime objective of our policy of the green revolution, expresses the ideal development policy for developing countries that are principally agriculturally. The Lagos Action Plan (conference of African chiefs of state held in Lagos on the definition of economic priorities for Africa) mentions it. This proves the accuracy and foresight of the leaders of our country.

It is obvious that under these circumstances, the appeals and decisions of the party regarding agricultural production and the marketing of food products should find a continuous response in us. These appeals and decisions which are valid every year should cause us to do our utmost in our production effort, for we must go beyond the first phase of the green revolution: food self-sufficiency, which would relieve us once and for all of the threat of famine and enable us to enter a commercial and industrial phase, thanks to surplus production.

That is the wish of the party.

11,464

CSO: 4719/863



# NATIONAL SOLIDARITY CALLED FOR IN AGRICULTURE

Lome NOUVELLE MARCHE in French 6 Apr 82 p 3

[Article by Agbessi Buagbe: "Let National Solidarity Triumph"]

[Text] Presided over by General Gnassingbe Eyadema, president and founder of the RPT [Rally of the Togolese People], the Central Committee of the party took important measures in the interest of the people, setting a reference average cost price for grain and making decisions affecting the increased price of loincloth fabric.

The Rally of the Togolese People and its president and founder have accustomed us to decisions made on behalf of the people. Measures taken last week by the Central Committee express the constant concern of our country's political leaders to guarantee the purchasing power of all social strata of the nation.

This goes along with the major concern of the party, whose policy is essentially aimed at the well-being of all Togolese people. In this connection, the efforts made by the president-founder no longer have to be emphasized.

The latest decisions made along this line go back to 12 January, when, in his message to the nation on the occasion of the 15th anniversary of national liberation, President Eyadema announced a series of measures including the exemption, for the eighth consecutive year, of peasants from the civic tax and an increase in salaries of civil servants and government employees, this despite the difficult international circumstances that have not spared our country, thereby proving the price which President Eyadema attaches to the well-being of our people.

Since he assumed power 15 years ago, General Eyadema has constantly, through unselfish personal action, set the example as a good citizen, concerned above all with the national interest. We know why he nearly lost his life in Sarakawa on 24 January 1974.

The sacrifices he makes in his legitimate search for ways and means to improve the standard of living of the Togolese people should encourage us to show more nationalism.

The search for easy gain sometimes depends on the acceptance of injustice toward others, which the RPT condemns. The policy of our party, based on love and forgiveness, justice and honesty, demands of us all a national awareness capable of engendering in us that spirit of sacrifice and national solidarity that will cause us always to place national considerations over and above personal considerations.

Merchants residing in Togo must not lose sight of the efforts demanded of us for the harmonious development of our country. Far from devoting themselves to practices which cast doubt on their conscience as good citizens serving the nation, they should remember that speculation and the unreasonable search for profit are not compatible with the ideals of the Rally of the Togolese People and are not in keeping with our dignity as members.

#### Honesty as Guide

Commerce along with agriculture has an important place in the economic development of our country. The policy of opening up to the outside and economic liberalism practiced by the Eyadema regime, combined with the policy of national unity and the climate of peace reigning here, makes commerce a prosperous field in Togo. Foreign and national merchants and investors tranquilly go about their business. That is a favorable aspect of their activity and which they can take advantage of with honesty. The illegal increase in prices of basic commodities tends to challenge the socioeconomic development effort in which all Togolese are involved with General Eyadema.

For their part, rural people, who constitute over 80 percent of our country's population and who should be happy about the many acts of solicitude by President Eyadema, contribute enormously to the development effort. They must also benefit from the fruits of that effort. That is why an appeal against speculation in food products to the detriment of farmers was issued at the national seminar on the marketing of food products in August 1981. That is why the Central Committee of the RPT, meeting Wednesday under General Eyadema, issued a new appeal so that the average cost price of reference for grains (corn, millet, sorghum) will be followed in all regions of the country and so that importers and retailers of fabrics and loincloths will find a solution to the rising prices on their merchandise as soon as possible.

While waiting for Togograin to sell us grain for 7,000 francs per 100-kilogram bag during the off season, prices now charged in consumer centers by private parties must not exceed 9,500 for a bag of corn, 9,700 for sorghum-millet and 16,500 for a bag of beans. Furthermore, if, by the end of April, no solution is found for the serious problem of the rising price of fabric and loincloths, then "the government will be forced to take measures to import directly and set up stores."

This appeal must be taken into consideration by persons it affects because in the Togo of the new march, "there cannot be two categories of citizens." The fruits of our revolution must benefit all Togolese equally. In other words, no social class must be hurt or exploited. That is the expression of the basic social justice of President Eyadema's policy.

It is to be hoped that this appeal will awaken the awareness of all merchants in general so that in their professional activities, reason will win out over the desperate search for profit.

It is easy to use the difficult international economic situation to satisfy one's thirst for gain, but we must not forget that honesty must always guide our acts.

The good citizen, the good member of the Rally of the Togolese people, is one who holds to ideas of high moral value. National solidarity is one expression of them. Properly understood, it rules out selfishness and the search for personal interest at the cost of society's interest. In the Togo of the new march, national solidarity is a reality that expresses our determination to be both useful to ourselves and others and which contributes to the harmonious construction of the nation. The National Solidarity Fund for the green revolution is concrete proof of that reality. This solidarity must triumph at all levels so that hand in hand, we shall continue our march forward.

11,464

CSO: 4719/863

TOGO

BRIEFS

OUTGOING INDIAN AMBASSADOR--Pascal Alan Nazareth, the ambassador of India accredited to Togo, today went to say goodbye to the Togolese president at the end of his 3-year mission in Togo. [AB052031 Lome Domestic Service in French 1900 GMT 5 May 82 AB]

CSO: 4719/921

ZERBO RECEIVES SAUDI ARABIAN ENVOY

AB051441 Ouagadougou Domestic Service in French 1300 GMT 5 May 82

[Text] The head of state, Col Saye Zerbo, this morning received a special envoy of Prince Fahd of Saudi Arabia. It was His Highness Prince (Shaykh Rashid). After the audience, the Saudi envoy talked about the topic of his discussions with the head of state in an interview with Abibata Dembele:

[Begin recording in Arabic followed by French translation] I had the honor to be received by his excellency the head of state to whom I delivered a personal message from his majesty the king and the Saudi Government. As is usual whenever there is a meeting between Upper Volta and Saudi Arabia, this message concerns the cooperations between our two countries. Thanks to God, the cooperation between the two countries is developing well and will continue to do so in the future. There will be an intensification of this cooperation in the future, particularly in the political and economic fields.

[Question] Your Highness, how does Saudi Arabia view the relations among the Arab countries following the evacuation of the Sinai?

[Answer] The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia has worked, is working and will always work for the unity of the Arab countries and the Arab world in everything that concerns the interest of the Arab world. [end recording]

CSO: 4719/922

UPPER VOLTA

BRIEFS

NEW FRG AMBASSADOR--The head of state, Col Saye Zerbo, this morning received the credentials of His Excellency Juergen Elias, new FRG ambassador to our country. The ceremony took place in the presence of several personalities including the charge d'affaires of the FRG Embassy and the Upper Voltan foreign minister. [AB061858 Ouagadougou Domestic Service in French 1300 GMT 5 May 82 AB]

CSO: 4719/922



PRESIDENT SIGNS BILL ESTABLISHING EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

Kinshasa ELIMA in French 19, 20 Apr 82

[19 Apr 82 pp 1-2, 10]

[Text] On 31 March 1982, the president of the republic signed Order No 82-046 concerning the organization and operation of the Executive Council. The following is the complete text of that order:

The president and founder of the Popular Movement of the Revolution (MPR) and president of the republic;

In accordance with the Constitution, particularly Article 35, paragraphs 5 and 6 of Article 36, Article 45 and paragraph 2 of Article 98;

Hereby orders the following:

Section I. Preliminary Provisions

Article 1. Subject to provisions of other general or specific texts, this order establishes the organization and operation of the Executive Council.

Article 2. By virtue of paragraph 5 of Article 36 and Articles 101 and 102 of the Constitution, the president and founder of the Popular Movement of the Revolution, president of the republic, is the head of the Executive Council.

In that capacity, he determines and heads domestic and foreign policy of the government, establishes the program of action of the Executive Council and ensures its application.

Section II. Organization and Operation of Executive Council

Chapter I. General Remarks

Article 3. The president-founder of the Popular Movement of the Revolution, president of the republic, exercises his powers as head of the Executive Council with the aid of a first state commissioner, a vice first state commissioner, state commissioners and secretaries of state.

Article 4. The first state commissioner, the vice first state commissioner, the state commissioners and the secretaries of state are appointed and, if need be, removed from office by the president-founder of the Popular Movement of the Revolution and president of the republic.

They are all chosen from among persons of Zairian nationality because of their high degree of militancy, competence and experience.

The first state commissioner outranks the other members of the Executive Council.

The vice first state commissioner outranks the state commissioners and the secretaries of state.

The state commissioners outrank the secretaries of state.

Seniority among state commissioners and between secretaries of state is based on the order in their certificate of appointment.

Article 5. Before entering office, the first state commissioner, the vice first state commissioner, the state commissioners and the secretaries of state take an oath before the president-founder of the Popular Movement of the Revolution and president of the republic, who notifies them of it. The oath follows the formula contained in Appendices I and II of this order.

#### Part 1. Concerning the First State Commissioner

Article 6. In keeping with Article 101 of the Constitution, the first state commissioner coordinates the action of the Executive Council within the framework of the program outlined and the directives given by the president-founder of the Popular Movement of the Revolution, president of the republic.

He keeps the president-founder of the Popular Movement of the Revolution and president of the republic fully informed of the conduct of the affairs of state.

He is also required, whenever necessary, to go to the president-founder of the Popular Movement of the Revolution and president of the republic for the purpose of receiving from him all instructions and general directions or details on a given subject being considered by the Executive Council.

Article 7. The first state commissioner ensures the unity, within the Executive Council, of the political and administrative orientation set forth by the head of the Executive Council or other higher bodies. He therefore sees that all members of the Council conform at all times to the policy defined by the president-founder of the Popular Movement of the Revolution and president of the republic.

Article 8. In generally, he ensures at all times the smooth operation both of the public and parapublic sectors, as well as of the economy and other sectors of national life.

Within the context of coordination, the first state commissioner is empowered to give orders and directives to other members of the Executive Council in order to guarantee the harmonious execution of the decisions of higher bodies. He gives them timely notice of possible instructions from the head of the Executive Council given outside the customary meetings of the Council.

The first state commissioner likewise performs all other missions with which he is specifically entrusted by the president-founder of the Popular Movement of the Revolution and president of the republic.

Article 9. In the case of his absence or incapacitation, the first state commissioner is replaced by the vice first state commissioner.

In case of the absence or incapacitation of both the first state commissioner and the vice first state commissioner, the interim period is the responsibility of the state commissioner next in line, as provided by the certificate of appointment.

## Part 2. Concerning the Vice First State Commissioner

Article 10. Unless he is temporarily replacing the first state commissioner who is absent or incapacitated or unless specially mandated by the president-founder of the Popular Movement of the Revolution and president of the republic or by the first state commissioner, the vice first state commissioner normally exercises only those powers stemming from the department he heads.

For all directives or instructions which he deems should be communicated to another department of the Executive Council, he refers to the first state commissioner.

## Part 3. Concerning the State Commissioners

Article 11. The state commissioners are responsible for heading the different branches of the national administration, designated by the name "department" and whose number and powers are established by the president-founder of the Popular Movement of the Revolution and president of the republic.

They are consequently empowered to perform, in keeping with the provisions of Article 102 of the Constitution and Articles 2 and 15 of this order, all actions in keeping with the activities of their respective departments.

In particular, they are responsible for preparing and submitting for the deliberations of the Executive Council bills, statutes, orders and, if need be, proposed decrees within the powers of their respective departments.

Article 12. In general, state commissioners have the right, even the obligation, when they are regularly required to do so, to attend certain sessions of the Legislative Council, whenever subjects within the province of their departments are debated there.

Article 13. When a proposed statute or order is to be submitted for signing by the president-founder of the Popular Movement of the Revolution and president of the republic, it is accompanied by a documented report.

Article 14. State commissioner annually draft the program of action of their respective departments and the related budget estimates.

Article 15. In performing their daily duties, state commissioners are required to conform to the general laws and regulations governing matters within the province of their respective departments. They are required to draft a monthly report for the first state commissioner, with a copy going to the president-founder of the Popular Movement of the Revolution and president of the republic.

More specifically, they are required to respect both financial and budget legislation. For this purpose, they will see that any bill, statute, order, convention, decree or decision that might have an immediate or future effect on the budget and any text creating or extending jobs or modifying the remuneration of government employees, is submitted for preliminary approval by the Department of Finance and naturally, the first state commissioner.

Article 16. State commissioners are required to keep the secretary or secretaries of state assigned to them informed of the management of affairs in their respective departments and of decisions made by the Executive Council.

They make all necessary provisions for that purpose.

Article 17. As the highest official in his administration and unless the powers are delegated, every state commissioner represents his department in its relations with the outside. In principle, he answers for any act related to its activities.

#### Part 4. Concerning Secretaries of State

Article 18. The president of the republic can assign one or more secretaries of state to a department of the Executive Council.

The secretary of state replaces the titular state commissioner of his department in case of his absence or incapacitation. When a department has more than one secretary of state, the interim period of the state commissioner is presided over by the the highest ranking secretary of state based on the certificate of appointment.

Article 19. The interim period of the state commissioner of a department with no secretary of state is presided over by another state commissioner designated by the president-founder of the MPR and president of the republic or by the first state commissioner.

Article 20. The secretary of state is required, when he is replacing the state commissioner heading his department, to report to him on his activities as soon as the latter returns to his post. In particular, he is required to report to the state commissioner on all decisions made in his absence by the Executive Council.

Article 21. In general, the secretary of state assists the state commissioner to whom he is assigned in accomplishing the different tasks performed by the department.

The secretary of state is empowered to stimulate discussion on any matter, to make any suggestion or proposal aimed at improving the operation of the affairs of the department, all within a spirit of sincere cooperation and concertation.

The state commissioner to whom a secretary of state is assigned may delegate to the latter, through his signature, part of his powers.

## Chapter II. Concerning the Executive Council

Article 22. The first state commissioner, the vice first state commissioner, the state commissioners and, if need be, the secretaries of state, form the Executive Council when they are gathered together to deliberate on affairs of state.

The Council meets, depending on the case, under the president-founder of the MPR and president of the republic, head of the Executive Council, or under the first state commissioner.

### Part 1. General Tasks of the Executive Council

Article 23. Subject to the prerogatives of the other organs of the MPR, the general tasks of the Executive Council include these main activities: through appropriate means and under the leadership and guidance of the president-founder and president of the republic, carrying out the government's domestic and foreign policy; and ensuring the execution of decisions and directives from other organs of the Popular Movement of the Revolution.

### Part 2. Deliberations of the Executive Council

Article 24. The Executive Council meets, in principle, at least once a week in Kinshasa or any other place in the republic, depending on the circumstances.

Barring the unpredictable and unless otherwise decided by the president-founder and president of the republic, the regular meetings of the Executive Council take place every Friday.

Nevertheless, the Council can be summoned at any time for a special meeting.

Article 25. The Executive Council meets at least once a month under the chairmanship of the president-founder and president of the republic. Unless otherwise decided, such meetings take place the first Friday of the month.

Subject to the provisions of Article 9 above, the meetings of the Executive Council are chaired, in addition to the president-founder and president of the republic, by the first state commissioner.



Article 26. Depending on the case, the Executive Council makes all decisions and gives opinions on all matters submitted to it by the president-founder and president of the republic or, if need be, by the first state commissioner, on all subjects submitted for its deliberations.

Article 27. Subject to the constitutional prerogatives of the president of the Popular Movement of the Revolution and president of the republic, who is head of the Executive Council, the following must be submitted for the deliberations of the Council: proposed treaties or international agreements involving the nation; proposed laws, statutes and order; high administrative affairs; appointments of high officials; provisions or measures, which, by their very nature, may involve general policy decisions and bring the collective responsibility of the Council into question; and orders, decisions or any other act not within the province of a single department and which, by their very nature or importance, require the joint deliberations of all members of the Council.

Article 28. The agenda of the Executive Council meetings is set by the president-founder and president of the republic or, if need be, by the first state commissioner.

Every member of the Council may, through a note sent to the president-founder and president of the republic or to the first state commissioner and filed with the Secretariat of the Executive Council at least one week before the meeting, ask that a dossier be included on the agenda. The president-founder and president of the republic or, if need be, the first state commissioner will rule on the request.

Article 29. Members of the Executive Council debate freely and together all matters on the agenda.

Decisions resulting from debate bind all members of the Executive Council.

Article 30. The first state commissioner, the vice first commissioner, state commissioners and secretaries of state are required to regard deliberations of the Council and all matters submitted to them as secret.

Only the person designated as spokesman of the Council by the president-founder of the MPR and president of the republic is authorized to release information.

Monitoring debates is the task of the person presiding over the meeting.

### Part 3. Limited Meetings of Executive Council

Article 31. For the examination of certain matters, the president-founder of the MPR and president of the republic may deem it fitting to call a limited meeting of the Executive Council.

Unless the president-founder of the MPR should decide otherwise, the limited meeting of the Executive Council will include, in addition to the head of the Council, the first state commissioner and the vice first state commissioner,



those state commissioners specially affected by matters on the agenda and other state commissioners whose participation is justified by their knowledge of the dossier.

The secretary of the Executive Council will be present to take minutes.

Article 32. In order to facilitate an examination of the dossiers, the Executive Council can set up working committees made up of its members.

Members of a committee can, with authorization from, depending on the case, the president-founder of the MPR and president of the republic or from the first state commissioner, ask for the assistance of any person who might contribute to the examination of a dossier.

Following its deliberations, the committee must file a report with the Secretariat of the Council, at least 2 days before the meeting of the Executive Council at which the matter will be discussed.

The report thus filed is then distributed by the Secretariat of the Council to all members of the Council.

The report is read or commented upon at the meeting of the Council by the chairman of the committee.

Article 33. An economic situation committee is hereby set up and attached to the Council.

Its essential task is to follow the major economic indicators in order to propose corrective measures for the action of the Executive Council.

The major economic indicators cover fields such as: production, prices, public finance, money and credit, foreign trade, prices of metals and the rate of exchange.

Article 35. The economic situation committee is made up of the members appointed by the president-founder of the MPR and president of the republic.

A bylaw will determine the organization and operation of the economic situation committee.

#### Part 4. Secretariat of the Executive Committee

Article 36. For the holding of its meetings, the Executive Council has a permanent Secretariat headed by a secretary.

In keeping with the provisions of Order No 77-043 of 23 February 1977 concerning the organization of the office of the president-founder and president of the republic, an adviser to the office is on duty in the Secretariat of the Executive Council.

Before beginning his duties, the secretary of the Executive Council takes an oath before the president-founder and president of the republic, who so notifies him. The text of the oath is found in Appendix III of this order.

Article 38. The secretary of the Executive Council attends the meetings of the Executive Council without any voice. He ensures the drafting of the agenda and the establishment of the dossiers of the Executive Council. He takes and keeps minutes of the meetings.

He sees that members are notified of all decisions of the Council. He is responsible for the proper functioning of the permanent Secretariat of the Council.

In the case of his absence or incapacitation, the secretary of the Council is replaced by a state secretary appointed by the president-founder and president of the republic or the first state commissioner.

### Chapter III. Concerning the Procedure for the Negotiation and Conclusion of International Treaties and Agreements and Private Conventions

#### Part 1. International Treaties and Agreements

##### Article 39.

1 -- By virtue of paragraph 1 of Article 114 of the Constitution, the president of the Popular Movement of the Revolution and president of the republic negotiates and ratifies international treaties and agreements linking the Republic of Zaire with other partners.

2 -- In accordance with the provisions of the preceding paragraph and subject to paragraphs 3 and 5 below, the first state commissioner, the vice first state commissioner, the state commissioners and, if need be, the secretaries of state cannot validly negotiate or conclude international treaties and agreements binding the republic unless duly empowered to do so by the president of the MPR and president of the republic.

3 -- Nevertheless, the following are considered to represent the Republic of Zaire because of their posts and without having full powers: a) the state commissioner for foreign affairs and international cooperation for all acts relating to the conclusion of a treaty, subject to paragraph 5 below; b) heads of diplomatic missions for the adoption of the text of a treaty between Zaire, the accrediting government, and the accreditor, subject to the provisions of paragraph 5 below; c) persons accredited by the republic to an international conference or international organization or one of its organs for the adoption of the text of a treaty by that conference, organization or organ.

4 -- Persons affected by (a) and (b) of the preceding paragraph are empowered to grant delegations of powers within the framework of their respective services.

5 -- Subject to the prerogatives of the president of the Popular Movement of the Revolution and president of the republic, the state commissioner for finance and the budget is alone empowered, without having to give evidence of full powers, to negotiate and sign international treaties and agreements for loans binding the republic. However, the state commissioner for finance and the budget can delegate powers to other state commissioners, secretaries of state and secretaries general of departments, as well as to diplomats accredited to Zairian diplomatic missions abroad.

Article 40. All persons empowered to or responsible for negotiating and signing international treaties or agreements on behalf of the republic are required to forward the originals to the department serving as Keeper of the Seals of the Republic and certified copies to the office of state commissioner for foreign affairs and international cooperation or to the office of the state commissioner of finance and the budget, in the case of application of paragraph 5 of Article 39 above.

## Part 2. Private Conventions

Article 41. The first state commissioner, the vice first state commissioner, state commissioners and, if need be, secretaries of state cannot validly commit the government to private conventions except in accordance with the provisions of Articles 15 and 27 above.

However, and subject to the prerogatives of the president of the republic, loan agreements binding the government are negotiated and signed by the state commissioner for finance and the budget, who can delegate powers.

Loan agreements binding the government are not legally in effect until they are approved by an order from the president of the republic.

## Chapter IV. Incompatibilities of Members of the Executive Council

Article 42. The mandate of members of the Executive Council is incompatible with any other public elective office at the national or local level and with the status of official in the public or private administration.

[20 Apr 82 pp 1, 7]

[Text] In yesterday's edition, we published four of the six chapters making up the order signed on 31 March by the chief of state, an order concerning the organization and operation of the Executive Council. The following is the second and last part of the text of that order.

## Chapter V. Order and Discipline Within Executive Council

Article 43. All correspondence between a department and the outside must be signed by the state commissioner of the department or, if need be, by the state secretary of the department in question.

If the department has no state secretary, then the document mentioned above will bear the signature of the state commissioner acting in his stead.

Article 44. In order to perform their daily tasks, members of the Council are authorized to seek assistance from a staff whose organization and makeup will be determined by the president-founder and president of the republic.

Members of the Council are required to respond to correspondence addressed to them in this capacity, if only to acknowledge reception.

Article 45. Any document prepared by the vice first state commissioner, state commissioners or, if need be, by state secretaries and destined to be confirmed by a law, statute or order must be forwarded to the president-founder of the MPR and president of the republic through his office by the first state commissioner.

Article 46. In order that they might be published in the JOURNAL OFFICIEL, departmental and interdepartmental orders must, after signing and in keeping with the channels mentioned above, be sent in the original to the president-founder of the Popular Movement of the Revolution and president of the republic and copies must be sent to the first state commissioner.

Only orders deemed to be in keeping with the Constitution, general laws and regulations and decisions from higher organs of the Popular Movement of the Revolution will be published in the JOURNAL OFFICIEL.

Article 47. Reports sent to the president-founder of the MPR and president of the republic through the first state commissioner and those sent to the latter concerning any task performed or any situation in a department must be forwarded within a reasonable amount of time so that they will be current.

Article 48. Members of the Executive Council are required to circulate information within the Executive Council.

As much as possible, they must cultivate a spirit of consultation and mutual concertation so as to promote greater harmony and solidarity between all members of the Council.

Article 49. Members of the Council directly or indirectly involved in a matter to be examined by the Council must abstain from deliberations on the subject.

Article 50. The first state commissioner, the vice first state commissioner, state commissioners and secretaries of state cannot leave Kinshasa or accept an invitation to go abroad within previous authorization from the president-founder of the MPR and president of the republic or, if need be, the first state commissioner.

Before leaving Kinshasa, they must inform the first state commissioner, so that he may inform the president-founder of the MPR and president of the republic, of the address where they may be found during their absence. The same is true within the country and in the city of Kinshasa.

Article 51. In the case of the revocation or resignation accepted by the president-founder of the MPR and president of the republic or any change in

assignment, the first state commissioner, state commissioners and secretaries of state are required to immediately brief their successors. There must be a written report of the briefing.

Article 52. Members of the Executive Council must at all times demonstrate an exemplary attitude. They will refrain from going to any place that might in any way cast doubt on their dignity or honor.

Article 53. Subject to the provisions of Article 104 of the Constitution and those regarding judicial organization and competence, any member of the Executive Council presumed to be guilty of a violation of the discipline of the MPR may be handed over to the disciplinary committee of the Central Committee.

Article 54. On the internal level, a member of the Executive Council may receive the following disciplinary action: a verbal warning; censorship; suspension for the purposes of an investigation; and revocation.

Article 55. The first state commissioner is empowered, with respect to a member of the Executive Council, to take measures consisting of a verbal warning or censorship.

Article 56. Other measures are within the province of the president-founder of the MPR and president of the republic, who may intervene in the case, either of his own free will or at the request of the first state commissioner and circumstantial evidence.

Article 57. When the first state commissioner makes use of the prerogatives granted to him in Article 55 above, he is required to so inform the president-founder of the Popular Movement of the Revolution and president of the republic, at the latest on the day following notification of the member of the Council concerned. If the latter was to supply justifications or explanations, he will send them to the first state commissioner, with a copy to the president-founder of the MPR and president of the republic.

#### Chapter VI. Indemnification and Advantages of Members of Executive Council

Article 58. Members of the Executive Council will receive indemnification whose amount is left up to the discretion of the president-founder of the MPR and president of the republic.

The president-founder of the MPR and president of the republic also determines all other advantages accompanying the post of member of the Executive Council.

Article 59. A member of the Executive Council who, for any reason other than death or dismissal, ceases to carry out his duties will receive an allocation whose amount is equal to six months' indemnification as provided in the preceding article.

Terms for the granting of the allocation provided for above are determined by the president-founder of the MPR and president of the republic.



Article 60. In the case of the death of a member of the Executive Council after definitive cessation of his duties and provided that he has not received the total allocation due him as provided in the preceding article, that allocation will be paid either totally or in part to the surviving spouse or in her absence, divided equally among dependent children.

Article 61. According to the following conditions, a special retirement pension is hereby set up:

The special retirement pension is granted for a maximum period of 5 years, at a rate of two-thirds of the salary.

The special retirement pension will only be paid to members of the Executive Council who, after performing their duties for at least 2 consecutive years, are no longer on the Council for reasons other than death or dismissal.

However, it is specified that in no instance can the retirement pension be paid at the same time as other emoluments from the Public Treasury because of new responsibilities or remuneration or advantages from a post in a mixed or private enterprise or any personal activity.

Article 62. In case of notorious misconduct on the part of the beneficiary, the president-founder of the MPR and president of the republic can put an end to the special retirement pension.

Article 63. According to the following conditions, right to honorary membership on the Executive Council is hereby instituted.

The right to honorary membership is open to those members of the Executive Council who remained active for at least 5 years without interruption and who ceased to perform their duties for reasons other than revocation.

Honorary membership confers on the member of the Executive Council meeting the conditions of the previous paragraph the right to continue to use the title previously held on an honorary basis.

Article 64. The president-founder of the Popular Movement of the Revolution and president of the republic can nevertheless also confer honorary membership on any member of the Executive Council who, although he does not meet the condition of duration, has by his personal merit rendered eminent services to the nation.

Article 65. The president-founder of the MPR and president of the republic can terminate the honorary membership if, by his conduct, the beneficiary is unworthy of it.

Article 66. In the case of the death of a member of the Executive Council, the surviving spouse, minor children and children of age still in school and other dependent persons have the right, for 5 years, to a sole pension whose amount is equal to the highest annual income provided for in Article 58 above.



Article 67. In the case of the death of a member of the Executive Council receiving a pension, the surviving spouse and other legal dependents have the right to a pension whose amount is equal to two-thirds of the updated annual amount of the allocation.

Article 68. Members of the Executive Council have the right to a 30-day vacation after every year of activities.

The annual vacation is taken at a time scheduled by the first state commissioner. In all cases, the annual vacation is based on the need for the smooth operation of the Executive Council.

The president-founder of the MPR and president of the republic can grant members of the Executive Council certain advantages attached to the enjoyment of an annual vacation.

Article 69. The pay provided for in Articles 66 and 67 of this order is in the form of monthly sums. They are collected by the surviving spouse or, in his absence, by the guardian of orphaned children.

Article 70. The right to the retirement allocation is forfeited by any member of the Executive Council who refuses to proceed to hand over his mandate to his successor.

The pension is forfeited when: 1) the widow remarried; 2) minor children come of age or complete their studies; and 3) the widow or orphan receives a pension from the Public Treasury or a personal salary.

Article 71. The president-founder of the MPR and president of the republic can grant the benefits of provisions in Articles 59 and 60, in accordance with the conditions provided, to any member of the Executive Council who, on the date this order goes into effect has ceased performing his duties.

Article 72. Expenses for health care of members of the Executive Council and members of their families are borne by the government as long as they are in office.

#### Section IV. Final Provisions

Article 73. Except in the case of authority of the first state commissioner, this order can be completed by instructions, directives or any other communication which the president-founder of the Popular Movement of the Revolution and president of the republic deems fitting to send to the members of the Executive Council.

Article 74. Provisions of Order No 77-191 of 6 July 1977 relating to the organization of the Executive Council, and all other regulatory provisions contrary to this order, are hereby abrogated. This order goes into effect on the date of its signing.

Kinshasa, 31 March 1982  
Mobutu Sese Seko  
Kuku Ngbendu Wa Za Banga  
Army General

'HARARE' COMMENTS ON FAILURE TO SOLVE NAMIBIA PROBLEM

CA101050 Harare Domestic Service in English 1125 GMT 7 May 82

[Station commentary]

[Text] The Namibian independence question has been the subject of a dragging and protracted diplomatic shuttle by a number of forces which include those directly affected by the situation and some external big powers. Central to the whole question is that the people of that territory should be given the right to determine their own destiny in an independent Namibia. This essentially means that South Africa, which illegally occupies that territory, should withdraw all its forces and dismantle its administration thus creating a free and democratic situation which allows the people of Namibia to establish their own sovereign state.

It is this just cause for which the South-West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO] took the decision to wage a war of national liberation after all other means had failed. Realizing that the people of Namibia are being subjected to a rule of brutal oppression and repression by the Pretoria regime's administration the frontline states and the Organization of Africa Unity, the United Nations and other progressive international organizations came out in support of a just solution to the Namibian question. More still, the frontline states have been subjected to systematic campaign of military and economic piracy by the Pretoria regime in an effort to force them to submit to and accommodate the evils of apartheid.

The Pretoria regime has continued to defy the United Nations resolution 435 on the Namibian independence. The Botha regime is on record for propagating a false cause--that it is fighting communism in Southern Africa. However, the truth is that it is fighting a war to defend the diabolic apartheid system. In view of this position which has been taken by the Botha regime it is evident that there is only one possible solution to the Namibian question: armed struggle combined with peaceful negotiations. However, one would have hoped that the Western contact group with all its powerful military and economic bargaining would have put enough pressure on the Pretoria regime to give up its illegal occupation of Namibia. It is indeed unfortunate that members of the Western contact group have resorted to dilly-dallying on the Namibian question by tabling [proposing] electoral proposals intended to humiliate SWAPO and upgrade the Pretoria regime in any talks that may take place.

It would appear the Western contact group's electoral proposal of one vote counted twice is a deliberate mechanism to frustrate any progress towards a genuine independence in Namibia. It sounds quite absurd that developed countries like those in the so-called Western contact group prefer to introduce a complex package of electoral proposals. History has proved so far that the so-called diplomatic mediators only become relevant to a political crisis when the enemy has been beaten to its knees, as is what happened in Zimbabwe. The Lancaster House conference only became meaningful after the colonial forces had been shattered and battered militarily. It appears the Western contact group is waiting for that stage when the Pretoria regime will have suffered a military defeat and a stage when the innocent masses will have been butchered by the racist forces. There is no doubt that if the Pretoria regime and its mentors are waiting for that stage when it will come.

CSO: 4700/1216

'ZIMBABWE RADIO' COMMENTS ON NAMIBIA ISSUE

MB100825 Harare Domestic Service in English 1125 GMT 7 May 82

[Station commentary]

[Text] (?At their recent meeting) the frontline states came out in support of a just solution to the Namibian question. More still, the frontline states had been subjected to a systematic campaign of military and economic piracy by the Pretoria regime in an effort to force them to submit to and accommodate the evils of apartheid.

The Pretoria regime has continued to defy UN resolution 435 on the Namibian independence. The Botha regime is on record for propagating a false cause; that it is fighting communism in Southern Africa. However, the truth is that it is fighting a war to defend the diabolical apartheid system.

In view of this position which has been taken by the Botha regime, it is evident that there is only one possible solution to the Namibian question: armed struggle combined with peaceful negotiations.

However, one would have hoped that the Western contact group, with all its powerful military and economic bargaining, would have put enough pressure on the Pretoria regime to give up its illegal occupation of Namibia. It is indeed unfortunate that members of the Western contact group have resorted to dillydallying on the Namibian question by tabling electoral proposals intended to humiliate SWAPO and upgrade the Pretoria regime in any talks that may take place. It would appear the Western contact group's electoral proposal of one vote counted twice is a deliberate mechanism to frustrate any progress towards a genuine independence in Namibia.

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It appears the Western contact group is waiting for that stage when the Pretoria regime will have suffered a military defeat, and a stage when the innocent masses will have been butchered by the racist forces. There is no doubt that if the Pretoria regime and its mentors are waiting for that stage, then it will come.

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